

POEMS ON THE DEATHS OF
LEO VI AND CONSTANTINE VII
IN THE MADRID MANUSCRIPT
OF SCYLITZES

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THE five hundred and seventy-four miniatures of the *de luxe* Madrid manuscript of Scylitzes (*Biblioteca Nacional*, Vitr. 26–2) still withhold the secret of their origin from the curiosity of scholars.¹ Some scholars—myself included—are inclined to place the manuscript’s execution in the second half—or the third quarter—of the thirteenth century, but no one is quite sure of this dating, and the attribution to “about the year thirteen hundred” seems to be the safest.² We are slightly better informed on the manuscript’s provenance, since we do know that toward the end of the fifteenth century it belonged to the Monastery of St. Savior at Messina,³ but we are in the dark when it comes to tracing its earlier history and, most important, to identifying the milieu in which, or for which, the *Scylitzes Matritensis* was produced. Art historians and other historians alike have been aware that, while some quires of the *Matritensis* are illuminated in a Byzantine style, miniatures in other quires display Western traits in the *insignia*, the details of dress, and the postures of the Byzantine rulers whom they depict. At the same time, it has been observed that some miniaturists of the *Matritensis* show considerable familiarity with the *realia* of Arabic dress, field equipment, and even architecture. These observations point to a milieu which was open to Byzantine, Western, and Islamic impulses simultaneously.⁴ Since by the

¹ For the best description of the manuscript, cf. José Maria F. Pomar, “El Scylitzes de la Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid,” *Gladius*, 3 (1964), 15–44; cf. also Agostino Pertusi, *Leonzio Pilato fra Petrarca e Boccaccio*, *Civiltà veneziana*, Studi 16 (1964), 489 note 8, and Sebastián Cirac Estopañán, *Skylitzes Matritensis*, I (Barcelona, 1965), esp. 15–27; 29–40 (a disappointing publication). This article is based on transcripts and photographs I made during my study of the *Matritensis*, undertaken on the initiative and in the company of Professor André Grabar in the fall of 1965. I wish to thank Professor Grabar for making this association possible; also the Reverend Don José Lopez de Toro, Head of the Manuscript Section of the Biblioteca Nacional, and Don José Maria Fernandez Pomar, its Librarian, for their generous assistance, the American Philosophical Society for subsidizing my trip to Madrid, and Professor Cyril Mango and Miss Vera von Falkenhausen for their helpful comments. The late Professor Romilly J. H. Jenkins, too, generously provided information, particularly concerning the correspondence of Nicholas Mysticus.

² C. de Boor, “Weiteres zur Chronik des Skylitzes,” *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 14 (1905), 411, dated the *Matritensis* to the thirteenth century; G. Millet (and André Grabar) to the fourteenth (cf. e.g., *Catalogue des négatifs de la Collection chrétienne et byzantine fondée par Gabriel Millet*, new ed. [Paris, 1955], 35); Pomar, “El Scylitzes...,” *ibid.*, 37; and Cirac Estopañán, *ibid.*, 21–22, to some time between the third quarter of the twelfth and the second half of the thirteenth century. Professor Alexander Turyn, in a letter of January 8, 1969, pronounced himself for the last quarter or the very end of the thirteenth century; Professor Herbert Hunger (oral communication) tentatively for “ca. 1300.”

³ Cf. this remark in the upper margin of fol. 9^r of the *Matritensis* (the title page of the Chronicle): αὕτη ἡ βίβλος πέλει τ(ῆς) τοῦ σ(ωτῆ)ρος μου(ῆς) τῆς διακειμ(έν)ου(ης) ἐν τῷ ἀκρωτηρίῳ τοῦ λιμ(έν)ος Μεσσήν(ης). It was in the hands of Constantine Lascaris, who remained in Messina from 1466 until his death in 1501. For details, cf. Pomar, *ibid.*, 26 note 42, and 38. That from its beginnings in 1131 St. Salvatore in Messina possessed a considerable Greek library, including historical works, is attested from its *typicon*; cf. Giuseppe Cozza-Luzi, *Patrum novae bibliothecae* . . . , X, II (Rome, 1905), 125. Cf. also M. Arranz in *Orientalia Christiana Analecta*, 185 (1969), XXX–XXXII.

⁴ Professor André Grabar, who offered a course on the *Matritensis* in 1965–66, spoke prudently of “apports certains, mais encore pas suffisamment élucidés, des arts musulman, d’une part, et occidental, de l’autre.” Cf. *Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes, Ve section* . . . , *Ann.*, 74 (Paris, 1966–67), 144–46.

fifteenth century the *Matritensis* was already in Messina, and since some parallels to the details of its miniatures appear in the chronicle of Peter of Eboli⁵ and in a Greek manuscript coming perhaps from Reggio di Calabria or Sicily,⁶ a Sicilian (or Neapolitan) court is a possible, if conjectural, candidate for a center which had either received, commissioned, or produced our manuscript.

A Sicilian court; but which one? If the *Matritensis* does date from the second half or third quarter of the thirteenth century, then the search should turn, firstly, to Manfred (1250–1266), son of Frederic II—that Manfred who was married to Helen, daughter of Michael II, the despot of Epirus; or, secondly, to Charles of Anjou (1266–1285). These two rulers may have been each other's enemies, but both laid claim either to Greek lands or to Constantinople itself, and therefore may have felt the need for information on the realms they coveted; they may have welcomed the Scylitzes either as a wedding gift or as background material for an invasion plan.⁷ However, our net should be cast wider. The Aragonese—with their matrimonial sights trained on Michael IX, son of Andronicus II⁸—should fall within it, as should various centers of the Latin Levant, and we should consider, too, Constantinople, Nicaea, even Artā. As yet, the uncertainties surrounding the *Matritensis* are too many to warrant anything but informed guesses.⁹

⁵ The unique manuscript of Peter (d. before 1220) is *Bernensis Latinus* 120, parts of which are autograph. Thus, Peter's miniatures are about a century older than those of the *Matritensis*. This is to be kept in mind in evaluating the comparisons in this note. For these comparisons, I used G. B. Siragusa, ed., *Liber ad Honorem Augusti di Pietro da Eboli*, tavole (Rome, 1905) [= P] and Cirac Estopañán, *Skylitzes...* (as in note 1 *supra*) [= S]. Architecture: cf., on the one hand, P III, VII, XIX, XXIV, XXXI, XLV, XLVIII and S pp. 321 (= fol. 120^r), 335 (= fol. 133^r), 292 (= fol. 82^r), 349 (= fol. 145^v) and, on the other hand, P XXVII and S p. 287 (= fol. 75^v). Tents: cf. P XV, XVIII and S pp. 299 (= fol. 97^r), 326 (= fol. 125^v), 400 (= fol. 214^r), 402 (= fol. 217^r). Domed white headgear of state (and ecclesiastical?) officials: P III, VI, VII, XXXII, XXXIII and S pp. 256 (= fol. 42^r), 257 (= fol. 42^v and 43^r), 315 (= fol. 114^v), 216 (= fol. 115^v, 116^r), 360 (= fol. 155^v). Posture of rulers: cf. P XII, LII with, e.g., S pp. 313 (= fol. 113^r), 317 (= fol. 116^v). Boats and military standards: cf. P XXV and S p. 258 (= fol. 44^r). Seats: P V and S p. 319 (= fol. 118^v). Pendent lamps in oriental style: P III, IV, XI and S p. 350 (= fol. 145^v and 146^r). Beds: P IX and S p. 396 (= fol. 209^r). Cf. also P VI (entry of Matthew into Palermo's archiepiscopal palace) and VIII (trumpeters), and S. p. 349 (= fol. 145^{rb}) (entry of Nicephorus into the City).

⁶ Cf. the similar treatment of Byzantine imperial headgear in *Marcianus Graecus* 574 (a. 1175) and in S pp. 337 (= fol. 135^r), 343 (= fol. 140^v), 346 (= fol. 142^v), 359 (= fol. 154^r and 154^v), 392 (= fol. 204^r) and 398 (= fol. 211^v), respectively. The Calabrian or Sicilian provenience of the *Marcianus* has been conjectured by R. Devreesse, *Les manuscrits grecs de l'Italie méridionale* [= Studi e Testi, 183] (Vatican City, 1955), 38 note 1.

⁷ On Charles of Anjou's library at Castello dell' Uovo in Naples, on foreign (Arabic) books there, and on Charles's payments to translators of foreign books into Latin, to illuminators (of medical books), to calligraphers, and to binders, cf., e.g., G. del Giudice, *Codice diplomatico del regno di Carlo I...*, III (Naples, 1902), no. CIV = pp. 171–179.

⁸ Cf. C. Marinescu, "Tentatives de mariage de deux fils d'Andronic II Paléologue avec des princesses latines," *Revue historique du sud-est européen*, 1 (1925), 139–143.

⁹ Seven manuscripts are copies, direct or indirect, of the *Matritensis*. Among them, one takes us back to San Salvatore di Messina—it is *Ottobonianus* 340, copied in 1534 by Joachim of Itala, a monk of that monastery, cf. G. Mercati, *Per la storia dei manoscritti greci... di varie badie basiliane d'Italia...* [= Studi e Testi, 68] (Vatican City, 1935), 178 and note 1, and Devreesse, *Les manuscrits...* (as in note 6 *supra*), 12 note 8 and 43 note 2. Another of these manuscripts, *Parisinus Suppl. Grec* 305, dates from the year 1557 and was copied (where?) by the hand of John Damaskinos, a scribe hailing from the Venetian stronghold Coron in Messenia. Again, we are in the Latin sphere of influence. Cf. De Boor, "Weiteres..." (as in note 2 *supra*), 415–416. On the other hand, we know of twelfth- and thirteenth-century monks going to Constantinople from South Italy and returning with Greek manuscripts from there. Cf., e.g., Pertusi, *Leonzio Pilato...* (as in note 1 *supra*), 499.

One peculiarity of the Madrid Scylitzes, however, leads us to a particular century, the tenth, and to a particular place, Constantinople. Within that part of the narrative which deals with the time span between the years 912 and 989, the manuscript contains eleven poems which, as far as they can be deciphered, deal with the deaths or murders of emperors or, in one case, of a general mistaken for an unsuccessful pretender to the throne who had the same name. Each of these poems is placed in the manuscript's margin next to the text and miniature relevant, or considered relevant, to the deceased.

The poems are as follows:¹⁰

- I. Fol. 116^v: Anonymous, On Emperor Leo VI. Published *infra*, pp. 194–195 and figs. 2 and 3.
- II. Fol. 116^v: Anonymous, On Emperor Leo VI. Published *infra*, pp. 196–198 and figs. 2 and 3.
- III. Fol. 116^v: Anonymous, On Emperor Leo VI. Published *infra*, pp. 201–205 and figs. 4, 5 and 6.

Relevant text for I–III: Cedrenus, *Historiarum Compendium* II, ed.

I. Bekker, CSHB (Bonn, 1839), 274, 8–11; relevant miniatures: death of Leo VI (cf. fig. 1); Constantine VII and Alexander begin their rule.

- IV. Fol. 139^r: Symeon <Metaphrastes>, On Emperor Constantine VII. Published *infra*, pp. 210–214 and figs. 8, 9, and 10.

Relevant text: Cedrenus, *Hist.* II (Bonn), 337, 23–374, 5; relevant miniature: death of Constantine VII (fig. 7).

- V. Fol. 157^r: Anonymous, On Empress Theophano. I adduce the three dodecasyllables *in extenso* (cf. fig. 11):

ΣΤΙΧΟΙ ΠΡΟΣ ΑΥΤΗΝ ΤΗΝ ΘΕΟΦΑΝΩ

Τί χαρμονὴν ἔσχηκας ἐν καιρῷ φόνου;
 σαυτὴν κατοικτείρησον οὐπὲρ ἐκλάπτης
 καὶ κέρδος οἰκτρὸν εὗρες ἐκ φιλημάτων.

Relevant text: Cedrenus, *Hist.* II (Bonn), 375, 7–19; relevant miniature: Theophano secretly letting Tzimisce, hoisted in a basket, and his accomplices into the Boukoleon (?) palace (fig. 11).

- VI. Fol. 157^r: <John Geometres?>, On Nicephorus Phocas; twenty-seven dodecasyllables. *Title*: Ἐπιτύμβια εἰς τ(ὸν) βασιλ(έα) Νικηφόρον. *Inc.*: Ὁς ἀνδράσι πρὶν καὶ τομώτερος ξίφους. *Des.*: Ὡ πλὴν γυναικὸς τ' ἄλλα δ' αὖ Νικηφόρος. Published on six occasions.¹¹

¹⁰ The only discussion of the poems as a whole is that of de Boor, "Weiteres..." (as in note 2 *supra*), 412–414 (titles, incipits). Mere mention of the poems' existence in Pomar, "El Scylitzes..." (as in note 1 *supra*), 25 and note 39.

¹¹ C. B. Hase in his edition of Leo Diaconus (Bonn), 453; Cedrenus, *Hist.* II (Bonn), 378; Th. Preger, *Inscriptiones Graecae metricae*... (Leipzig, 1891), 23–24 = no. 28; S. G. Mercati, "Note d'epigrafia bizantina, 10: Epigramma di Giovanni Geometra sulla tomba di Niceforo Foca," *Bessarione*, 37

Relevant text: Cedrenus, *Hist.* II (Bonn), 376, 9–21; relevant miniature: murder of Nicephorus.

VII. Fol. 157^r: Anonymous, On Nicephorus Phocas; four dodecasyllables.¹²

Title: Absent. *Inc.*: 'Αἰῶν αἶμα — — — — —. *Des.*: Πέδον μολύνει καὶ τόπον — — — —. Unpublished.¹³

Relevant text: Cedrenus, *Hist.* II (Bonn), 376, 9–21; relevant miniature: scene of Nicephorus' murder.

VIII. Fol. 157^r: Anonymous, On Nicephorus Phocas; three dodecasyllables.¹⁴ *Title*: 'Επιτύμβια... *Inc.*: 'Ο πλὴν γυναικὸς τᾶλλα δὲ Νίκη — —. *Des.*: Βουλῇ γυναικὸς — — — — —. Unpublished.

Relevant text and miniature: as in no. VII.

IX. Fol. 157^r: Anonymous, On Nicephorus Phocas; fourteen (?) dodecasyllables.¹⁵ *Title*: "Ἑτεροί. *Inc.*: "Ον οὐκ ἐ — — — — —. *Des.*: illegible. Unpublished.

Relevant text and miniature: as in no. VII.

X. Fol. 159^r: Anonymous, On John Tzimisce. I adduce the seven dodecasyllables *in extenso* (cf. fig. 12):

ΣΤΙΧΟΙ ΕΙΣ ΤΟΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΑ ΙΩΑΝΝΗΝ ΤΟΝ ΤΖΙΜΙΣΚΗΝ

Κίνει κατ' ἐχθρῶν δεξιὰν τὴν ὀπλίτιν
 ἦν ἔχρανας αἵματι δικαίου πάλαι,
 καὶ μηχαναῖς ἔκτιλλον ἔθνη καὶ πόλεις,
 5 καὶ τὴν πονηρὰν ἔκτιλλον συναυλίαν,
 μηδὲν κλαπείς κάτωθεν εἰς ἄνω λόγον.
 σὺ μὲν βροτὸς πέφυκας· οὐ σθένεις <δ' ὅλως [read: ὅμως?]
 † μήμω † Θεοῦ σοι † προσκατηγμένην † βίαν.¹⁶

(1921), 158–162 (on p. 162, Mercati declared that the reading of line 23 in the *Matritensis* “non liquet;” it is: ἴσως πτοήσει ταῦτα καὶ τρέφει μόνῃ); G. Soyter, *Byzantinische Dichtung* [= Kommentierte griechische und lateinische Texte, 6] (Heidelberg, 1930), 25–6; *idem*, *Byzantinische Dichtung* [= Texte und Forschungen zur byzantinisch-neugriechischen Philologie, 28] (Athens, 1938), 41–2 (Soyter’s texts are reprints from Mercati.). Poem VI was translated into Russian by V. Vasil’evskij, “Russko-vizantijskie otrivki, II...,” reprinted in his *Trudy*, 2 (1909), 114–115. The attribution of Poem VI to John Geometres, and the latter’s identification with John, metropolitan of Melitene, goes back to Vasil’evskij, *ibid.*, 115. J. Darrouzès, “Inventaire des épistoliers byzantins du X^e siècle,” *Revue des études byzantines*, 18 (1960), 120, questions it; and in his forthcoming edition of Geometres’ poems, Dr. Armin Hohlweg (Munich) brackets our Poem VI for lack of proof of its authorship.

¹² The text is too damaged to be read in ordinary light. In the second line, I read, Λέοντο(ς) ὑπνώσοντο(ς) ἐνδ — — — —.

¹³ The indication “unpublished” means that a poem’s first line does not appear as published either in P. Ch. Baur’s *Initia Patrum Graecorum* [= Studi e Testi, 180 and 181] or in the handwritten *incipitarius* started under the guidance of Cardinal Giovanni Mercati, and available to scholars at the Vatican Library. I wish to thank Monsignor Paul Canart, *Scriptor* of that Library, for checking the incipits of our poems against those of Mercati’s *incipitarius*.

¹⁴ Text badly erased. In the second line, I read πᾶς(ης) κρατῶν γῆς — — — — —.

¹⁵ Text barely legible. In line 2, I read ὃν οὐκ ἐκφόβησεν (probably wrong, since a block of seven syllables is required); in line 3, ὃν δυσμενεῖς ἐφριττον; in line 4, ὡς πῦρ; in line 5, — — — — — ἑαλ; in line 6, — — — — — εἰν γυναικός(ς); in line 7, — — — — — ὦν φάλαγγος ἀπρόσιτο(ς) ἐν μάχαις; in line 8 (which, like lines 9 and 10, seems to contain two dodecasyllables), ποῦ τὸ ξέκνον; in line 9 ὃν κ(αὶ) λίθων — — — — — ἔτρεμε — — — — — and — — — — — τῷ τριπλή(χει); in line 10, ἐν τη; line 11 is illegible.

¹⁶ This last line is obscure. Should one read λήλῳ instead of μήμω, i.e., “wrath of God,” and understand the last two lines to mean: “You are mortal; you are not able to withstand <the consequences

Relevant text: Cedrenus, *Hist.* II (Bonn), 380, 3–381, 5; relevant miniature: Tzimisces crowned by Patriarch Polyeuctus, who had previously obtained Theophano's removal (cf. the "blameworthy cohabitation" of line 5).

XI. Fol. 182^v: Anonymous, On a Bardas, called in the title Bardas Phocas. I adduce the eleven dodecasyllables *in extenso* (cf. fig. 13):

ΣΤΙΧΟΙ ΕΙΣ ΤΗΝ ΤΕΛΕΥΤΗΝ ΦΩΚΑ ΤΟΥ ΒΑΡΔΑ

Καὶ Βάρδας ὦδε τὴν τελευταίαν μένει
 σάλπιγγος ἡχήν, ὃς στρατηγῶν ἐν μάχαις
 κατεστρατήγει καὶ παθῶν καὶ βαρβάρων·
 5 ἄλλ' ἢ νόσος τὸν ἄνδρα βαρβαρουμένη
 πρὸς τὴν ὁδὸν κατέσχε τὴν ἐναντίαν,
 καὶ τοὺς νεογνοὺς παῖδας ὠρφανισμένους,
 βιοκλοποῦσα καὶ πρὸ τῆς ἥβης, ἔχει.
 ὃν σύμβιος λαβοῦσα τῆς Κρήτης ἄπνουν
 10 ἐκ τῶν πόνων ἀνῆψε πῦρ καί, δακρύοις
 λούσασα, θάπτει, σύμβολον σωτηρίας
 τῶν εἰκόνων γράψασα τοὺς σεπτοὺς τύπους.

Text considered relevant: Cedrenus, *Hist.* II (Bonn), 445; miniature considered relevant: scene of Bardas Phocas' death.

The epitaph's hero cannot have been the famous pretender, Bardas Phocas, who died in the Spring of 989 and is depicted on the miniature of fol. 182^v. The Bardas of the epitaph—we do not know for sure whether his family name was indeed Phocas, since the latter appears only in the title—died from an illness, νόσος βαρβαρουμένη (line 5), which felled him in Crete: at least it is from there that his wife is said to have brought his body (line 9); as for Bardas Phocas the pretender, he died in mysterious circumstances—of a stroke, a fall from a horse, a secret wound, or of poisoning—on the field of battle near Abydos. Furthermore, the Bardas of the epitaph left "newborn children," νεογνοὺς παῖδας (line 7). Bardas Phocas had been Dux Chaldiae and a *patricius*—that is, a grown man—before 969,¹⁷ and would hardly have left orphans of tender age twenty years later.

of) the violence which God in his wrath might make descend upon you? Professor Mango conjectures μέναι. As for the author of Poems VII–X, John Geometres, who probably wrote Poem VI, is a possible candidate. This, however, is a mere guess, based on the fact that John did write several poems on Nicephorus and Tzimisces (cf. note 95 *infra*), on the quasi identity of the last line of Poem VI with the first line of Poem VIII, and on the occurrence of λίθων... and — τῷ τριπήχει in Poem IX, 9. This three-cubit stone reappears as a refrain of sorts in John Geometres, cf. Migne, PG, 106, col. 940AB.—Cf., on the other hand, the occurrence of πῦρ ἀνάπτει (cf. XI, 10), "arouses, excites," in Symeon Logothete's epitaph on Stephen Lecapenus, ed. Vasil'evskij, "Dva nadgrobnix..." (as in note 57 *infra*), 578, 8–9. A further note of caution: the manuscript evidence collected by Dr. Hohlweg for his forthcoming edition of Geometres shows no incipits identical with those of Poems VII–X.

¹⁷ Cf. e.g., Leo Diaconus, *Hist.* (Bonn), 96, 8–11.

Neither of the two other Bardae Phocae known to me from the tenth century—the father and the son of Emperor Nicephorus—meets the conditions required by the epitaph. When Nicephorus' father Caesar Bardas died (969), he was more than ninety,¹⁸ an age at which one does not sire νεογνούς παῖδας; and when Nicephorus' son Bardas was accidentally killed by a spear, he was just at the age of puberty¹⁹—too young to have children; in any case, no νόσος βαρβαρουμένη was involved in his demise.

The Bardas of our epitaph was a soldier who died, possibly in bed, on the island of Crete; if so, his death would most likely have occurred after 961, the year of Crete's reconquest by the Empire; however, Bardas' participation in the Cretan expeditions of 911, 949, or 961 cannot be excluded, since νόσος βαρβαρουμένη of line 5 may also mean "mortal illness caused by Barbarians," that is, death at the hands of the Saracens.

Although we are unable to identify our Bardas, we can envisage the setting of his epitaph. It was located near or on his tomb: it is "here," ὧδε (line 2), that Bardas is awaiting the trumpet of the Last Judgment. His widow had a scene or scenes depicted near the tomb, for the sake of her deceased husband's salvation (lines 10–11). We may visualize a sarcophagus in an arcosolium, the latter containing figures of, say, Christ, the Virgin, and Bardas. I imagine that our epitaph was placed either on the sarcophagus itself or in the arcosolium.²⁰

All eleven poems of the *Matritensis* were entered on its margins by the main scribe of the original part of the manuscript. Thus, they were copied into the *Matritensis* from its immediate model. It is more difficult to say how the poems found their way onto the margins of that model or of its antecedents. Proof that at least several of the poems could not simply have been inspired by the main text of Scylitzes shall be offered in section four, where we discuss the dates of Poems I–IV. Here I shall take this proof for granted and suggest that at some time an interested reader of Scylitzes introduced, at points which he considered appropriate, epitaphs culled from a separate book of funerary epigrams on emperors and on great men. This hypothetical book was very likely compiled in Constantinople, since whoever wrote the title of Poem IV knew that Symeon was magister and *stratiotikos* "now," and was thus aware of the latest moves on the bureaucratic and aulic ladder. In addition to texts, the postulated book may have drawn, directly or indirectly, on monuments

¹⁸ Cf. Leo Diaconus, *ibid.*, 83, 16–18.

¹⁹ Cf. Leo Diaconus, *ibid.*, 40, 23–41, 7; Cedrenus, *Hist.*, II (Bonn), 351, 17–19.

²⁰ For ninth-century formal parallels to Bardas' epitaph, cf. the funerary epigrams by Theodore of Studios, using the device ὧδε in the first line, e.g., nos. CXI, 1; CXIII, 1; CXV, 1 (cf. also CXVI, 2 and CXVII, 4: τῇδε), ed. P. Speck, *Theodoros Studites, Jamben auf verschiedene Gegenstände* [= Supplementa Byzantina, I] (Berlin, 1968), 289, 292, 295; 297, 298. The device is antique, cf. G. Kaibel, *Epigrammata Graeca ex lapidibus* . . . (Berlin, 1878), no. 592; *Anthologia Palatina*, VII, 231; 616; 746. For a conceptual parallel to lines 1–2, cf. Theodore of Studios, CXIV, 8–9: ὧδη [read ὧδε or ὧδι] τέθαιπται προσμένων τὴν ἡμέραν, | ἐν ἧπερ ἤξει Χριστὸς εἰς πάντων κρίσιν, ed. Speck, *ibid.*, 293.—On Byzantines collecting material for an edition of epigrams from inscriptions, and on Theodore's having actually put his epigrams on stone, cf. Speck, *ibid.*, 57; 66–68; 250–251 (against A. D. Komines, as in note 55 *infra*).

as well; Poem XI on Bardas may have found its way into it from the tomb or from a copy of the funerary inscription. The fusion between our poems and the Chronicle of Scylitzes could in theory have occurred wherever two texts—the hypothetical book of epigrams and the Scylitzes itself—and one historically minded bookman were simultaneously available; in practice, Constantinople again is the best candidate as the place where such a meeting might have come about.²¹

3

Among the poems of the *Matritensis*, the first four form a group apart. The first three of these deal with Leo VI's death and are thus a thematic unit; the fourth, on the death of his son Constantine VII, shows significant stylistic similarities with the first three; all four are written in politic verse, while all the other poems of the manuscript are in dodecasyllables. The rest of this article will be devoted to an edition and translation with commentary of the first four poems of the *Matritensis*.

The editor's task is straightforward; it consists of giving a normalized transcription of what we read in the margins of the manuscript and of proposing a few conjectures.²² This is so, because, with the exception of one eighteenth-century witness,²³ inaccessible to me, the *Matritensis* is the source for the four other Scylitzes manuscripts which contain some of our poems;²⁴ they are its direct, or indirect, *apographa*.²⁵

²¹ Poems written by the main scribe of the original part of the manuscript: this is the *primera mano* in the system of Pomar, "El Scylitzes..." (as in note 1 *supra*), 18–20 and the *primer escriba* of Cirac Estopañán, *Skylitzes*... (as in note 1 *supra*), 25. De Boor, "Weiteres..." (as in note 2 *supra*), 412, ascribes the verses to the illuminator. There is no need to multiply hands, for the illuminator and the main scribe are the same person; in any case, the main scribe and the copyist of the poems are the same: cf. the identical treatment of κ, χ, α and of the combination δι by both of them.—Juxtaposition of text and poems, postulated for the model of our manuscript: this was not the only act of its kind, as it is also attested in a manuscript independent from the tradition represented by the *Matritensis*. *Marcianus Gr.* VII, 12, fol. 355^v inserts the epitaph of Basil II into the Scylitzes text at a spot corresponding to Cedrenus, *Hist.* II (Bonn), 480, 8. For the *Marcianus*, cf. de Boor, "Weiteres..." (as in note 2 *supra*), 427–428; Mercati, "Note..." (as in note 11 *supra*), 140–142; E. Mioni, *Codices Graeci Manuscripti Bibliothecae Divi Marci Venetiarum*..., II (1960), 27–28; For the text of the epitaph of Basil II, cf. Mercati, *ibid.*, 141–142.

²² Except for cases which could have a bearing on the text itself or on the manuscript's provenience, errors of itacism or quantity (e.g., II, 39 παροργήσας; IV, 1 ἀσικρῆτις; IV, 28 μελήξεται; IV, 42 χορίζομαι), wrong accents (e.g., III, 57 Κωνσταντίνος; III, 63 οὐς for οὗς; IV, 18 ἀκτίνας), or breathings (e.g., III, 20 ἀλουργίδι; III, 27 ἔως) have not been recorded in the apparatus. As a rule, parts of words cut off, in the process of rebindings, at the beginnings and ends of some verses have been tacitly restored. Only the two doubtful cases (III, 45; IV, 67) have been mentioned in the apparatus.

²³ This witness is Athens, Kolybas Library (Μουσείον Δ. Λοβέρδου) 199, XVIII century, fol. 22^r–22^v (?), which contains 32 (?) lines of Poem II and (the whole?) Poem I, the beginning of which is transmitted in the form similar to Poem III, 3–4. Cf. Sp. P. Lambros, Κατάλογος τῶν κωδίκων τῶν ἐν Ἀθήναις βιβλιοθηκῶν πλὴν τῆς Ἑθνικῆς. Γ'. Κώδικες βιβλιοθήκης Ἀλεξίου Κολυβά, in Νέος Ἑλληνομνημίων, 16 (1922), 113, and A. Pertusi, *Constantino Porfirogenito De Thematibus*... [= Studi e Testi, 160] (Vatican City, 1952), 15 and note 1. I was not able to obtain a microfilm of the Athens manuscript.

²⁴ *Ambrosianus* C 247 inf. (= Martini-Bassi, *Catalogus*..., II, no. 892); *Berolinensis Graecus* 234 (= *Phillippicus* 1637); *Marcianus Graecus* 605 (= Zanetti-Bongiovanni, *Graeca D. Marci Bibliotheca*..., 313); *Ottobonianus Graecus* 361.

²⁵ This has been shown by de Boor, "Weiteres..." (as in note 2 *supra*), 412; 414–415.

I

ΕΙΣ ΛΕΟΝΤΑ ΤΟΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΑ

Δότε μοι θρήνους ἄδοντι ρεῦσαι πηγὰς δακρύων,
κλαύσομαι τὸν δεσπότην μου, θρηνήσω μου τὸν φίλον.
τοῦτο ἡ ματαιότης.

5 τί μοι στυγνάξεις ἥλιε, τί Ἰοφερὸν ἀνίσχεις;
πάντως, ὅτι τὸν Λέοντα τὸν ἄνακτα οὐ βλέπεις.
τοῦτο ἡ ματαιότης.

τί μοι, σελήνη, ἔοικας νυκτὶ μελανωμένη;
πάντως, ὅτι τὸν ἥλιον τὸν Λέοντα οὐ βλέπεις.
10 τοῦτο ἡ ματαιότης.

τί μοι καὶ πόλος ἀναστρος ἀπὸ νεφῶν σπιλάδος;
τάχα λιβὰς ἐπύκνωσε δακρύων τὸν αἰθέρα.
τίς γὰρ ὁ μὴ θρηνήσας;

“Μὰ τὸν φωσφόρον ἥλιον,” κύκλος σελήνης εἶπεν,
15 “ἦθελον τὸν ὑπέργλυκυν ἀκμὴν Λέοντα βλέπειν.”
τοῦτο ἡ ματαιότης.

“Μὰ τοὺς χθονίους ἅπαντας,” Ἰοφερὸς “Αἰδης εἶπεν,
“ὅτι μοι Λέων πρόωρος ἦλθεν, οὐκ ἀντιλέγω.”
τοῦτο ἡ ματαιότης.

20 βάλλετε γόους, βάλλετε, δάκρυσι μεμιγμένους:
ὅλον τὸν τάφον πλήσατε τῶν ἐμῶν στεναγμάτων.
τὰ πάντα ματαιότης.

VARIAE LECTIONES: M = *Matritensis*, Vitr. 26–2.

15 ὑπέργλυκυ ἀγκμήν M 20 γόους scripsi, cf. *Poema* III, 72: πόνους M

FONTES ET LOCI PARALLELI: 1 Δότε–4 ματαιότης: cf. *Poema* III, 3–5 4 τοῦτο ἡ ματαιότης: cf. Eccl. 4:4; 8; 16; 5:9; 6:2; 9; 7:7; 8:10; 14 7 τοῦτο ἡ μ.: cf. ad 4 10 τοῦτο ἡ μ.: cf. ad 4 16 τοῦτο ἡ μ.: cf. ad 4 19 τοῦτο ἡ μ.: cf. ad 4 22 τὰ πάντα ματαιότης: cf. Ps. 38 (39):5; Eccl. 1:2; 14; 2:11; 17; 3:19; 12:8.

Translation

ON LEO THE EMPEROR

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>Provide me, when I sing my dirge,
 With springs of tears o'erflowing;
 I shall bewail the Lord of mine,
 Lament my friend's departure.
 O vanity triumphant!</p> <p>5 O Sun, why is thy face in gloom,
 Thy rise in mists enveloped?
 Methinks, because no longer doth
 Thine eye behold Lord Leo.
 O vanity triumphant!</p> <p>O Moon, why art thou like unto
 The black night's deepest
 darkness?
 Methinks, because no longer dost
 Thou see our sun, Lord Leo.</p> <p>10 O vanity triumphant!</p> <p>Why is the sky without a star,
 With stormy clouds cast over?</p> | <p>Methinks the rising flow of tears
 Condensed the ether's thinness;
 For who has not lamented?</p> <p>"By Sun's light-bringing radiance,"
 Moon's orb was heard declaring</p> <p>15 "I wish I still could look upon
 My sweetest Master Leo."
 O vanity triumphant!</p> <p>"By all who fill the nether world,"
 Chimed in the gloomy Hades,
 "I don't deny that Leo came
 To me before his hour."
 O vanity triumphant!</p> <p>20 Send forth, send forth a wailing cry,
 With bitter sobs commingled,
 Let Leo's sepulchre be fraught
 With my sad lamentations.
 All is vanity's kingdom.</p> |
|--|--|

Commentary

Date: before 913? (For discussion, cf. pp. 222–225 *infra*.) For chronicle accounts of the death of Leo VI (May 11, 912), cf. Theoph. Cont., *Hist.* (Bonn), 377, 12; Leo Gramm., *Hist.* (Bonn), 285, 10; Symeon Mag., *Hist.* (Bonn), 715, 14; Georg. Mon. Cont., *Hist.* (Bonn), 871, 1; Cedrenus, *Hist.* II (Bonn), 274, 4; Scylitzes, *Matr. Vit.* 26–2, fol. 116^v (11 June 912!); Zonaras, *Hist.* III (Bonn), 455, 7. Cf. R. J. H. Jenkins, "The Chronological Accuracy of the 'Logothete' for the Years A.D. 867–913," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 19 (1965), esp. 105–106.

Meter: Seven strophes, each made up of a couplet in politic verse followed by a refrain consisting of the second half of the politic verse.

2 πηγὰς δακρύων: For a parallel, cf. epitaph III (by Symeon Metaphrastes?) on Christopher (d. 931), son of Romanus Lecapenus, ed. Leo Sternbach, "Christophorea," *Eos*, 5 (1899), 7–21, cf. esp. 18, 10: κρουνοὺς ἡμῖν δανείσατε πρὸς κένωσιν δακρύων. Cf. *ibid.*, line 35: ὄμβροι δακρύων ῥέοντες.

5–6 τί... ἥλιε... λοφερὸν ἀνίσχεις: Cf. epitaph II, ed. Sternbach (as in commentary to line 2), 17, 41–42: φωσφόρος (= sun) ἄπνουν σε βλέπων κατεμελαίνετο λόφῳ· | πῶς γὰρ ἠνέσχετο βλέπειν σοῦ δύναντος ἐν τῷ τάφῳ;

5–12: The whole of Nature takes part in bewailing Leo's death.

8–9 σελήνη, ἔοικας νυκτὶ μελανωμένη: The moon no longer reflects the rays of that earthly sun, the Emperor; cf. epitaph III, ed. Sternbach (as in commentary to line 2), 18, 29–30: χορὸς ἀστέρων κέκρυπται πυρσεύειν τὴν ἐσπέραν· | ἐκ σοῦ γὰρ ἐδανείζοντο τὸ φῶς τῆς δαδουχίας.

12 λιβὰς ἐπύκνωσε δακρύων τὸν αἰθέρα: The clouds covering the sky are but the condensation of the tears shed by mankind, rising (as vapor) to the sky.— On the (imperfect) definition νέφος πύκνωσις ἀέρος, cf. Aristotle, *Topica*, VII. 8, p. 149b29. On the air (not ether) turning into a πύκνωσιν ὕδατῶδη, cf. *idem*, *Meteorologica* III. 3, p. 372b31. On rain as rising condensation of vapor, cf. e.g., Psellos *De Omnifaria Doctrina*, § 140 = pp. 72–73, ed. Westerink, with indication of sources.

14 φωσφόρον ἥλιον: For φωσφόρος = sun, cf. commentary to lines 5–6 *supra* and epitaph III, ed. Sternbach (as in commentary to line 2), 19, line 49: μύθοι φωσφόρον λέγουσι νεκροῖς κατακλιθῆναι.

II

ΤΙΝΑΣ ΛΟΓΟΥΣ ΕΙΠΕ ΛΕΩΝ Ο ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΤΕΛΕΥΤΩΝ

“Τὸν Κωνσταντῖνον, δέσποτα καὶ ἀδελφέ, ὡς τέκνον,
ὡς σπλάγχχνον, ὡς καρδίαν σου περίθάλπε καὶ σκέπτε.”
ὦ θρήνων ἔμπλεοι λόγοι.

5 “εἴ τι καὶ πταίσας ἔδοξα, μηδενὸς μνήμην λάβης·
οὐ γὰρ παντὶ τῷ λέγοντι εἰς μάτην συνηπείχθην.”
ὦ θρήνων ἔμπλεοι λόγοι.

“ὅμως εἰ καὶ ἐλύπησα, καιρὸς νῦν ἀφιέναι,
ὁ γὰρ χωρίζων ἔστηκε θάνατος ἀπ’ ἀλλήλων.”
10 ὦ θρήνων ἔμπλεοι λόγοι.

“οἱ φοβεροὶ παρέστησαν ἑτασταὶ τῶν πραχθέντων·
οἴμοι, οἴμοι, τίς γένομαι; οὐδεὶς γὰρ ὁ οἰκτεῖρων.”
ὦ θρήνων ἔμπλεοι λόγοι.

“τί μοι ἐσθῆς πολύχρυσος; ποῦ τὰ στεμμάτων κάλλι;
15 οὐχὶ ὡς χόρτος ἄπασα ἡ τῶν ἀνθρώπων δόξα;”
ὦ θρήνων, ὦ στεναγμάτων.

“Τί βασιλεὺς πολυόλβος, τί πένης, τί δυνάστης;
οὐ καθ’ ἐκάστην ἔλεγον τὰ πάντα ματαιότης;”
ὦ θρήνων ἔμπλεοι λόγοι.

20 “λοιπὸν ἔλθέ, ὦ δέσποτα, καὶ ἀδελφὸν ἀσπάζου·
 ‘οὐκ ἀδελφὸν λυτροῦται’ γάρ, βασιλεὺς ἄλλος ἔφη.”
 ὦ πένθους, ὦ θρηνηδίας.

“ἔλθετε καὶ θεράποντες τοῦ ἱεροῦ κοιτῶνος,
 οὐκέτι τῷ κυρίῳ γὰρ ἔμοι διακονεῖτε.”
 25 ὦ πένθους, ὦ θρηνηδίας.

“φιλάγαθε παράσθητι παρθένη καὶ βοήθει·
 ἐν οὐδενὶ γὰρ ἔσχηκα ἑτέρῳ τὰς ἐλπίδας.
 οἶδας, θεέ, τὰ κρύφια, ἐτάλεις τὰς καρδίας·
 ἀντίθες μου τοῖς πταιίσμασι τῆς πίστεως τὸ ζέον.
 30 υἱέ μου, σῶζου· Λέοντα οὐκέτι γὰρ θεάσῃ,
 υἱέ, δι’ ὃν μακρύνομαι πατρός τοῦ οὐρανίου.
 τέκνον ἐμὸν γλυκύτατον, τὸν ἀδελφόν μου ἔξεις
 μετὰ θεὸν φιλάγαθον πατέρα καὶ δεσπότην.
 οὐκέτι, τέκνον, βλέψω σε, οὐκέτι περιλάβω,
 35 οὐκέτι ἀγκαλίσσωμαι τὸ φῶς τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν μου.
 ὅστ’ αὖ καὶ δέρμα θάψατε, ἢ σὰρξ γὰρ προερρύη·
 ἄνευ σαρκὸς ὁ τάφος με δέχεται βασιλέα.
 τῷ τάφῳ ἐπιγράψατε· ‘Λέων ἐνθάδε κεῖται,
 ὁ μόνος ὑπὲρ ἄνθρωπον τὸν θεὸν παροργίσας.’”

40 μέμνησθε πάντες, μέμνησθε Λέοντος τοῦ δεσπότη·
 θάψατε καὶ θρηνήσατε καὶ πάντοτε θρηνεῖτε.
 ὦ θρήνων, οἶον τὸ τέλος.

VARIAE LECTIONES: 2 ἀδελφέ scripsi: ἀδελφόν M 6 συνεπείχθη] συνηπύχθη
 M: an συνηπύχθη scribendum? 12 τίς] an τί scribendum? 14 ἔσθης M
 22 πένθους scripsi: πένθος M 23 θεράποντας M 25 πένθους scripsi: πένθος M
 29 ζέων M 30 σῶζου scripsi: σώζε M 37 δέχετε M

FONTES ET LOCI PARALLELI: 15 ὡς χόρτος—δόξα: cf. Ps. 102 (103):15; 36
 (37):2; 101 (102):11 18 τὰ πάντα ματαιότης: cf. ad *Poema* I, 22 21 οὐκ ἀδελ-
 φὸν λυτροῦται: cf. Ps. 48 (49):7 28 οἶδας—καρδίας: cf. Ps. 43 (44):21; 7:9; 138
 (139):23; I Chron. 28:9; 29:7; Jer. 17:10 31 μακρύνομαι πατρός: cf. Ps. 72
 (73):27; 118 (119):150; Theod. Studita, *Ep.* II. 84, Migne, PG. 99, 1325C;
Vita Euthymii, I:19 = 2, 31, ed. de Boor; Symeon Magister, *Hist.* (Bonn),
 700, 2 36 ἢ σὰρξ γὰρ προερρύη: cf. *Poema*, III, 52 ρύουσι σάρκες ἔπασαι; cf.
 Cedrenus, *Hist.* II (Bonn), 273, 14–15.

Translation

WORDS WHICH LEO PRONOUNCED ON HIS DEATHBED

- "My lord and brother, Constantine
 As your own child do cherish;
 Protect from harm and shelter him
 As your own heart and entrails."
 O words, with dirges heavy!
- 5 "If I was guilty of some faults,
 Remand them to oblivion,
 For not by each accuser's words
 To vain deeds was I prompted."
 O words, with dirges heavy!
- "Should I indeed have caused you
 grief,
 Now is the time to pardon.
 For Death, alas, is standing by
 The two of us to sever."
 10 O words, with dirges heavy!
- "The grim inquirers have arrived
 My past deeds to examine;
 Woe unto me, what shall I do,
 For no one shows me pity."
 O words, with dirges heavy!
- "What use is my gold-threaded robe,
 Gone is my diadem's splendor.
 15 Is not all human glory like
 Unto the grass that withers?"
 O dirges, O lamentings!
- "What is a king exceeding rich?
 A pauper? Man of power?
 Did I not every day affirm:
 'All is vanity's kingdom?'"
 O words, with dirges heavy!
- 20 "Well, then, My Lord, approach and bid
 Farewell to thine own brother.
 For 'brother,' quoth the other king,
 'Redeemeth not' his sibling."
 O grief, O lamentation!
- "Approach ye worthy servitors,
 The sacred chamber tending,
 No longer shall ye wait on me
 As your own lord and master."
 25 O grief, O lamentation!
- "Stand by, O Virgin, lend Thine aid,
 Benevolently grant it;
 To no one else did I entrust
 My hopes of sure salvation.
 O God, Thou know'st man's secrets
 all,
 Their hearts dost Thou examine:
 My burning faith put on the scales,
 To counterweigh my vices.
 30 Farewell, my son, no longer shalt
 Thou see thy father Leo,
 O son, through whom I am removed
 From heav'nly Father's presence.
 My sweetest child, my brother shall
 To thee be, after Jesus,
 The most benevolent of lords,
 The best of loving fathers.
 No longer do I see thee, child,
 No longer shall I hold thee;
 35 No longer hold thee in my arms,
 The lightray of my eyesight.
 Mere skin and bones put in the grave:
 My flesh has ere now wasted;
 The grave receives an emperor,
 None of his flesh remaining.
 Upon my tomb these words inscribe:
 'Lord Leo lies hereunder;
 Alone, he roused the wrath of God
 Much more than any mortal.'"
- 40 Remember one, remember all,
 The humble ruler Leo;
 Return him to the earth, bewail
 And grieve for him forever,
 O sorrowful conclusion!

Commentary

Date: before 913? (For discussion, cf. pp. 222–225 *infra*).

Meter: (a) Eight strophes, each made up of a couplet in politic verses, followed by a refrain in Byzantine anacreontic;²⁶ (b) fourteen politic verses; (c) one strophe made up of a politic couplet and a refrain in Byzantine anacreontic.

1: The title indicates that Poem II is an *ethopoia*.²⁷ The usual form of the title would be τίνος ἂν εἴποι (or simply εἴποι) λόγους Λέων βασιλεὺς τελευτῶν. A poem under an almost identical “ethopoetic” title, τίνος ἂν εἴπε λόγους τελευτῶν Λέων ὁ βασιλεὺς, did once stand in the *Barberinianus Graecus* 310 (*olim* 246); its title alone has been preserved among sixty-seven titles of poems listed in the manuscript’s table of contents.²⁸ All the five poems of the Barberini index whose text has been preserved are in anacreontics.²⁹ Thus, it is most likely that the Barberini poem τίνος ἂν εἴπε λόγους...Λέων... was written in anacreontics as well, and that, in spite of the near identity of titles, it was different from ours.

2: I change ἀδελφόν to ἀδελφέ. For a formal parallel, cf. Letter 104, 1–2 by Symeon Metaphrastes, ed. J. Darrouzès, *Epistoliers byzantins du Xe siècle* (Paris, 1960), 159: δέσποτά μου καὶ ἀδελφέ. Consequently, I take this verse to be addressed to Leo’s blood brother Alexander (b. 872; ruled May 12, 912–June 6, 913). This is the simplest attribution. That doubt should persist at all is due to the information that the Patriarch Nicholas Mysticus (901–907; 912–925), Leo VI’s classmate at Photius’ school, had been the future Emperor’s θετὸς ἀδελφός, “adopted brother”—this according to *Vita Euthymii*,³⁰ a contemporary source—and to the consideration that, being a prelate, he could very appropriately have been addressed as δεσπότης. Nicholas, no less than Alexander, had been “sinned against” and “aggrieved” by Leo (cf. Poem II, 5 and 8).³¹ Moreover, according to one version of what happened during Leo’s last illness, the Emperor reconciled himself with the Patriarch on his deathbed, and endowed him again with administrative powers. This version, however trustworthy, is roughly contemporary with the events themselves, since it

²⁶ Cf. Th. Nissen, “Die byzantinischen Anacreonten,” *Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akad. der Wiss.*, Philos.-hist. Abteilung, Heft 3 (1940), *passim*. One should perhaps speak simply of eight-syllable verses rather than of anacreontics. This is the terminology adopted by J. Koder in the chapter *Die Metrik. Der Achtsilber*, being a part of the Preface to his forthcoming edition of the Hymns by Symeon the Younger, the Theologian. I am indebted to Dr. Koder for kindly putting his typescript at my disposal and to Professor Herbert Hunger for acting as intermediary.

²⁷ On this type of *progymnasma*, cf. G. Reichel, *Quaestiones progymnasmaticae* (Leipzig, 1909), 75–88.

²⁸ Cf. Pietro Matranga in *Spicilegium Romanum*, IV (Rome, 1840), esp. p. XXXIX; cf. also P. Maas, “Literarisches zu der *Vita Euthymii*,” *BZ*, 21 (1912/13), 437, and Nissen, “Die byzantinischen...” (as in note 26 *supra*), 57–58.

²⁹ For editions and discussion, cf. Nissen, *ibid.*, 71–73.

³⁰ II, 25 = ed. de Boor, 6; = ed. Karlin-Hayter, *Byzantion*, 25–27 (1955–57), 16, 31.

³¹ Example: suspecting Alexander of plotting against him, Leo took away his wife and disgraced him, cf. *Vita Euthymii* IX, 19 = ed. de Boor, p. 29; = ed. Karlin-Hayter, *ibid.*, 60, 21–24.

appears in Nicholas' own correspondence³² and in a document purporting to have been Leo's last will;³³ it is also recorded by a Patriarchal catalogue³⁴ and by the tenth-century Patriarch of Alexandria, Eutychios.³⁵ If the δεσπότης of Poem II, 2 and 20 were Nicholas, this poem would be another early piece of the same *dossier*. However, we must discard this interpretation. In the first place, the sources, even those friendly to Nicholas, are silent on his having been entrusted with the task of protecting the boy Constantine before Leo VI's death on May 11, 912; Nicholas' regency—which he had to share with others—did not begin until Alexander's death on June 6, 913. In the second place, if verses 2 and 20 of Poem II are addressed to Alexander, the poem itself can be better articulated; it falls into two main parts: lines 2–22, at the beginning of which the dying Emperor asks Alexander to protect his son Constantine; and lines 30–42, at the beginning of which the same Emperor tells Constantine that Alexander will protect him. Should ἀδελφόν be the correct reading, two interpretations are conceivable: (a) if Alexander is the person addressed, the meaning of the line must be "Constantine, thy colleague in office," "co-emperor." If Nicholas is addressed, then ἀδελφόν in lines 2 and 20 must refer to Alexander, which is unlikely.

3: Σπλάγχνον here is a synonym of "child." Cf. Artemidorus, *Onirocriticon*, 1:44 and 5:57 = ed. R. A. Pack, 50, 13 and 314, 13.

6: The words "was I prompted" of my translation presuppose that the normalized spelling of the συνητήχθιν offered by the manuscript should be συνηπείχθην, the aorist of συνεπείγομαι, "to be urged on." Cf. the letter of Patriarch Athanasius I to Andronicus II, *Vaticanus Gr.* 2219, fol. 52^v: εἴ πως... πρὸς ἀληθῆ μετάνοιαν ἐπειχθείμεν, "so that we may hasten to true repentance." It is possible, however, to normalize the verb into συνυπήχθην, the aorist of συνυπάγομαι "to be brought under the power of"; if so, the lines might read:

For not by each malicious tongue's
Words was I overpowered.

21: Cf. Ps. 48 (49): 7: ἀδελφὸς οὐ λυτροῦται, λυτρώσεται ἄνθρωπος; "a brother does not redeem, shall a man redeem?" "The other king" is David, the Royal Psalmist. Sense: Fare thee well, Alexander: alas, though you are my brother, you cannot redeem me from death. Cf. epitaph I, ed. Sternbach (as in commentary to I, 2), 15, 8: οὐδεὶς γὰρ ὁ λυτρούμενος τῆς ὥρας τοῦ θανάτου.

³² Letter to Pope Anastasius III = Ep. 32, Migne, PG, 111, col. 271D.

³³ N. Oikonomides, "La dernière volonté de Léon VI au sujet de la tétragamie (mai 912)," *BZ*, 56 (1963), 46–52 (text of Leo VI's purported Μετάνοια). On the authenticity of this document, cf. P. Karlin-Hayter, "La 'préhistoire' de la dernière volonté de Léon VI," *Byzantion*, 33 (1963), 483–486; cf. *ibid.*, 511 (against); N. Oikonomides, "La préhistoire de la dernière volonté de Léon VI au sujet de la tétragamie," *BZ*, 56 (1963), 265–270 (guardedly for). On the facts of Nicholas' recall, juxtapose, e.g., P. Karlin-Hayter, "Notes on the 'Vita Euthymii,'" *Byzantion*, 32 (1962), esp. 320–321 (Alexander recalled him) and R. J. H. Jenkins, "A Note on the 'Letter to the Emir' of Nicholas Mysticus," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 17 (1963), 399–401 (Nicholas was recalled by Leo VI as effective patriarch with Euthymius as titular patriarch). I. Chr. Konstantinides, Νικόλαος Α', ὁ Μυστικός... (Athens, 1967), 57–58, has Nicholas recalled by Alexander upon order of Leo VI (no proof).

³⁴ F. Fischer, "De Patriarcharum Constantinopolitanorum Catalogis..." *Commentationes philologicae Ienenses*, 3 (1884), 292, where Leo VI, on his deathbed on May 15, is made to recall Nicholas; Leo, however, died on May 11.

³⁵ *Annales*, Migne, PG, 111, col. 1150D.

22 and **25** ὦ πένθους: Cf. the anacreontic refrains on the margins of epitaph III, ed. Sternbach, *ibid.*, 17–19, apparatus, esp. apparatus to line 2: ὦ πένθους ἀπαρκαλήτου.

30: I have changed σῶζε of the manuscript to σῶζου, “fare thee well,” in view of σῶζέο, “good-bye”, in *Anthologia Palatina*, 5:241, 1 (Paulus Silentiarius), of Πιερίδες, σῶζοισθε, “fare ye well, O Muses,” *ibid.*, 9:171, 3 (Palladas), and above all because of epitaph I, ed. Sternbach (as in commentary to I, 2), 15, 13: σῶζεσθε τέκνα φίλτατα σὺν τῇ μητρὶ καὶ φίλοι· | τάφος γάρ . . . ἄφ’ ὑμῶν με χωρίζει, of Theophanes *Chronographia*, ed. de Boor, 349, 31–350, 2: καὶ εἶπε τῷ Μαρίᾳ· “σῶζου,” and of *Vita S. Mariae Iunioris*, ed. Delehaye, *AASS Novembris*, 4 (1925), p. 696b: καὶ χαίρε καὶ σῶζου μετὰ τῶν τέκνων.

36: Both Poem III, 52 and Cedrenus, *Hist.* II (Bonn), 273, 14–15, repeat the motif of Leo VI’s utter emaciation during his last illness.

39: Cf. epitaph I, ed. Sternbach (as in commentary to I, 2), 15, 4: οὐ γὰρ καλὸν τὸν πλάσαντα . . . παροργίζειν.

III

ΑΛΦΑΒΗΤΟΣ ΕΙΣ ΛΕΟΝΤΑ ΤΟΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΑ

- Ἦχος πλάγιος β΄· πρὸς τὸ “Ἀρχων τοῦ κόσμου.”
 τοῦτο ὡς ἀνακλῶμενον· ὁδὸς μοι θρήνους
 ἄδοντι, θρηνήσω μου τὸν φίλον, κλαύσομαι
 5 τὸν δεσπότην μου, ῥεύσω πηγὰς δακρύων·
 5a τοῦτο ἡ ματαιότης.

 Ἄνασσα Πόλις στέναξον, ἀπόθου σου τὸ στέφος,
 ἄθροισον τὸ πολίτευμα κλαῦσαι σου τὸν δεσπότην·
 τοῦτο ἡ ματαιότης.
 Βάθος κριμάτων ἄληπτον τῶν σῶν, ἦλιε Λόγε,
 10 ὅτι τὸν κάτω ἥλιον συνέστειλας του φέγγειν.
 θρηνῶ σε, δέσποτα Λέων.
 Γηγενὴς ἅπας πέφυκε καὶ βασιλεὺς καὶ πένης,
 ὅθεν οὐδεὶς ἐκφεύζεται τὸν ἐπώδυνον τάφον.
 θρηνῶ σε, δέσποτα Λέων.
 15 Δροσερὸν οἶα ῥόδον σε ἡ πορφυρὶς βλαστάνει,
 ὡς ἶον ἐν τοῖς ἀνθεσιν, ὡς κρίνον ἐν τοῖς κήποις.
 θρηνῶ σε, δέσποτα Λέων.

 Τί μοι στυγνάξεις, ἦλιε, τί ζοφερὸν ἀνίσχεις;
 πάντως, ὅτι τὸν Λέοντα τὸν ἄνακτα οὐ βλέπεις,
 20 <’Ε>ν ἀλουργίδι ἥλιον, ἐν βασιλείοις ἄστρον,
 ἐν λόγοις φέγγος ἄδυτον, ἐν χάριτι φωσφόρον.

- <Ζ>άλην ψυχῶν ἐκοίμιζες τοῖς πράεσι σου λόγοις·
 ἦθος σεμνὸν ἐδίδασκες τῷ ταπεινῷ σου ἔθει·
 Ἦπιος ὦν, ἐφύλαττες καὶ βασιλέως τρόπους,
 25 ἐν δὲ τῇ ταπεινώσει σου τὸ ὕψος σου ἐδείκνυς.
 Θαύμασον ὕμνον ἅπαντα καὶ αἶνων μελωδίαν,
 ἕως ἂν τοῦ δεσπότη μου τοὺς ὕμνους ἐνωτίσῃ.

Τί μοι, σελήνη, <Ξ>οικας νυκτὶ μεμελασμένη;
 πάντως, <Θ>τι τὸν ἥλιον, τὸν Λέοντα, οὐ βλέπεις.

- 30 <Ι>σούνται σου τὰ ρεύματα τῶν λόγων τῇ θαλάσσει
 <ή λ>ύρα δὲ τῶν ὕμνων σου μέλιτος ἀποστάζει.
 <Κλ>αύσατε πάντες, κλαύσατε, τὸν πρᾶον βασι<λ>έα·
 τὸν συμπαθῆ καὶ ἡσυχον κλαύσατε καὶ οἱ λίθοι.
 <Λέω>ν καθάπερ ἔβλεπες ἀτενῶς τὸν δεσπότην·
 35 <Καὶ> στεναγμῶν βρυχήματι ἐχθρῶν κατεστρατήγεις.
 <Μετ>ὰ μαργάρων δάκρυα, μετὰ χρυ<σ>οῦ πραότης·
 ἔβλεπες καὶ ἐθαύμα<ζ>ες, καὶ μᾶλλον ἐξεπλήττου.

Τί μοι <καὶ> πόλος ἀναστρος ἀπὸ νεφῶν σπιλάδος;
 <τάχ>α λιβάς ἐπύκνωσε δακρύων <τὸ>ν αἰθέρα.

- 40 <Νομ>ίμῳ συναφεῖα τε καὶ οὐκ ἀθέσμῳ γάμῳ
 <ή> φύσις ἀνεβάλλετο παιδὸς ἄρρενος τόκον·
 ὦ βάθος Θεοῦ κριμάτων.
 <Ξέν>ον, ἀλλ' οὕτως ἔδοξε τῇ ἄνωθεν προνοίᾳ.
 ἐν παραβάσει νόμου τε ὁ παῖς ἀπογεννᾶται.
 45 <Ὁ νό>μος εἰ καὶ ἡργησε, πάλιν ἐνομοθέτει·
 τῷ ἱερῷ κανόνι δέ, τὸ κρίνειν παρεχώρει.
 ὦ βάθος Θεοῦ κριμάτων.
 <Πλ>ύνεται τοῦ μιάσματος ρεύμασι τῶν δακρύων,
 καὶ τῇ μητρὶ προσφύεται πάλιν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ.
 50 “Μὰ τὸν φωσφόρον ἥλιον,” κύκλος σελήνης εἶπεν,
 “ἦθελον τὸν ὑπέρλαμπρον ἀκμὴν Λέοντα βλέπειν.”

- <Ρέ>ουσι σάρκες ἅπασαι φυσικῶν ἐξ ἀνθρώπων,
 <Ἦ>να ῥυτίς ἡ μόλυσμα ψυχῆς μὴ ἔνδον μείνῃ.
 Σκήπτρων εὐθὺς διάδοχος, πατρώθεν βασιλεύων,
 55 ὁ τῆς πορφύρας ἥλιος Ἀλέξανδρος ἀνίσχει.
 <Τῷ> Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἀνακτι ἀστήρ συνανατέλλει,
 ὁ ἐξ ὁσφύος Λέοντος ὑπάρξας Κωνσταντῖνος.
 Ὑμνησον πόλιν, ὕμνησον, τοὺς Βασιλείου παῖδας,
 οὗτοι γὰρ πορφυρίζουσι μᾶλλον σοῦ τὴν πορφύραν.

60 — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — —
 — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — —

Φησὶν ὁ μέγας κύριος· “Ἐν γενεᾷ δικαίων
οἱ ὀφθαλμοί μου βλέπουσι, καὶ οὐς ἔμὸν ἀκούσει.”
ὦ πόλις εὐτυχιστάτη.

65 Χαῖρε μοι Λέων δέσποτα καὶ ἐν Ἀίδου κευθμῶσι,
χαῖρε ψυχὴ ὀλόγλυκε, ἀγγέλοις συμφοιτῶσα·

— — — — — — — — — — — — — — — —
— — — — — — — — — — — — — — — —
70 ὥς βασιλέα ὕμνησον, ὡς φίλον, ὡς δεσπότην·
σὺ δέ, κἄν μετὰ θάνατον, μέμνησο Κωνσταντίνου.
χαῖρε μοι, δέσποτα Λέων.

Βάλλετε γόους, βάλλετε, δάκρυσι μεμιγμένους,
ὄλον τὸν τάφον πλήσατε τῶν ἑμῶν στεναγμάτων.
τὰ πάντα ματαιιότης.

VARIAE LECTIONES: 22 ἐκοίμηζες M 38 πόλος scripsi, cf. *Poema* I, 11: πόλις
M 45 <Ὁ νό>μος scripsi 51 ἀγμὴν M 53 ψυχῆς scripsi: σαρκός M 60–61
lacunam statui 65 κεθμῶσι M 66 συμφοιτῶσα M 67–68 lacunam statui

FONTES ET LOCI PARALLELI: 3 δότε –5a ματαιιότης: cf. *Poema* I, 2–4 8 τοῦτο
ἢ μ. cf. ad *Poema* I, 4 12 Γηγενής—πένης: cf. Ps. 48 (49):2 18 τί –19 βλέπεις
cf. *Poema* I, 5–6 28 τί –29 βλέπεις: cf. *Poema* I, 8–9 38 τί –39 αἰθέρα: cf.
Poema I, 11–12 50 μά –51 βλέπειν: cf. *Poema* I, 14–15 52 ῥύουσι-ἄπασαι:
cf. *Poema* III, 36 62 ἐν γενεᾷ –63 ἀκούσει: cf. Ps. 13 (14):5 65 Ἀίδου κευθμῶσι:
cf. Hom., X 482; ω 204 72 βάλλετε –74 ματαιιότης: cf. *Poema* I, 20–22

Translation

ALPHABETIC VERSES IN HONOR OF THE EMPEROR LEO

(Second plagal mode; after the model “The Ruler of the Universe”; the following model is to be used for the refrain: “Provide me, when I sing my dirge, Lament my friend’s departure; I shall bewail the lord of mine, Shed springs of tears o’erflowing. O vanity triumphant!)

Such strange pronouncement from on high
By Providence was rendered.
The child was born, but by this birth
Law's bounds were violated :

45 Thus Law was once suspended, but
 Another was enacted,
 And Leo let the Canon Law
 Its judgment freely render.
 O depth of our Lord's verdicts!
 His soul was cleared of sinful taint
 By streams of tears abundant;
 Into the fold of Mother Church
 Again he was admitted.

50 "By Sun's light-bringing radiance,"
 Moon's orb was heard declaring,
 "I wish I still could look upon
 My sweetest Master Leo."

His flesh by ulcers was reduced
 —Ordeal this, wrought by
 Nature—

So that no wrinkles and no taint
 Would mar his soul eternal.
 Forthwith the heir to Leo's throne,
 Of lineage imperial,

55 The purple-clad sun doth arise:
 His name is Alexander.
 A star is rising side by side
 With Master Alexander:
 'Tis Constantine, child issued from
 The loins of Emp'ror Leo.
 O City, sing, intone the praise
 Of Basil's noble offspring,
 For they impart a deeper hue
 To thy imperial purple.

60 — — — — —
 — — — — —
 — — — — —
 — — — — —

Saith our Lord: "In the time of
 The righteous generation,
 My eye shall see, My ear shall hear,
 My face will turn toward them."
 Most fortunate Queen of Cities!

65 My Master Leo, hail to thee
 In hidden depths of Hades;
 To thee, hail, soul exceeding sweet,
 Companion of the angels.

— — — — —
 — — — — —
 — — — — —
 — — — — —

Praise him as emperor, as friend
 And as a rightful ruler.

70 And as for thee, even in death
 Thy Constantine remember;
 Hail to thee, Emperor Leo!

Send forth, send forth a wailing cry
 With bitter sobs commingled,
 Let Leo's sepulchre be fraught
 With my sad lamentations.
 All is vanity's kingdom.

Commentary

Date: before 913? (for discussion, cf. pp. 222–225 *infra*).

Meter and structure: Acrostic, consisting of politic verses and two kinds of refrains. The first is identical with the second half of a politic verse; the second is a Byzantine anacreontic. The structure of Poem III is hinted at in the instruction following its title, stating that two lines of Poem I, followed by that poem's refrain, will function "as the *anaklōmenon*" in Poem III. *Anaklōmenon* is the line (or lines) repeated either without variation, or with small

variations, at the end of each *oikos*, or stanza, in a hymn. In short, *anaklōmena* are refrains.³⁶

Something different happens in the body of the poem itself. There each stanza of four acrostic couplets is followed not by the two first lines of Poem I, but by the full politic lines of this poem taken two by two in sequence, the refrains of Poem I being omitted. Thus the first refrain of Poem III consists of Poem I, 2–3; the second, of Poem I, 5–6; while the seventh, and last, refrain of Poem III consists of Poem I, 20–21, or the last full lines of that poem. The short refrain of Poem I (τοῦτο ἡ ματαιότης οἱ τὰ πάντα ματαιότης) appears only three times. Four different anacreontic refrains peculiar to Poem III are inserted between its simple acrostic couplets; the insertion occurs at irregular intervals, but only one and the same anacreontic refrain appears within one stanza.

The structure of Poem III is, thus, as follows (x2, x3 = lines 2, 3 of Poem I; r = seven syllable refrains of Poem I; R¹, R², R³ = anacreontic refrains of Poem III; A, α, B, β = couplets of the acrostic in Poem III):

x2	Δ	Θ	M
x3	δ	θ	μ
r	R ¹		
		x8	x11
A	x5	x9	x12
α	x6		
r		ι	N
	E	ι	ν
B	ε		R ²
β		K	
R ¹	Z	κ	ζ
	ζ		ξ
Γ		Λ	
γ	H	λ	O
R ¹	η		ο
			R ²

³⁶ Cf. The Suda, s.v. ἀνακλώμενον = ed. A. Adler, I, 171, no. 1905, where the explanatory word is ἀπηχούμενον. As an example, Suda gives Romanus the Melode's refrain taken from the Kontakion on the Baptism of Christ; cf. esp. stanzas 5 and 6, eds. P. Maas and C. A. Trypanis, *Sancti Romani...* *Cantica...* (Oxford, 1963), 36. For the discussion of the term, cf. also N. B. Tomadakis, *Ρωμανοῦ τοῦ Μελωδοῦ Ὕμνοι...*, II (Athens, 1954), σσ. α-σβ, and J. Grosdidier de Matons, *Romanos le Mélode, Hymnes*, I [= Sources chrétiennes, 99] (Paris, 1964), 15 (= refrain of a stanza in a kontakion). *Anaklōmena* seem to have been used as refrains in acrostics, since an anacreontic poem by Constantine of Sicily, consisting of acrostic couplets only, bears the subtitle *χωρὶς ἀνακλωμένων... κατὰ ἀλφάβητον*. Cf. P. Matranga, *Anecdota Graeca*, II (Rome, 1850), 696. F. Hanssen, "Accentus gramatici in... anacreontico... vis et ratio...", *Philologus*, Supplementband, 5 (1889), 208, note 20 identifies *anaklōmena* with *kukulia* which, too, were verses inserted in between groups of strophes of a poem. Cf. W. Christ-M. Paranikas, *Anthologia...* (1871), XXVI–XXVII, and R. Anastasi, "Giorgio Grammatico," *Siculorum Gymnasium*, 20 (1967), 209–253, esp. 230–233. More usually, however, a *kukulion* means the opening strophe of a kontakion; cf. Grosdidier de Matons, *ibid.*

Π	Σ	⟨x17⟩	⟨Ψ⟩
π	σ	⟨x18⟩	⟨ψ⟩
x14	Τ	Φ	Ω
x15	τ	φ	ω
		R ³	R ⁴
Ρ	Υ		
ρ	υ	Χ	x20
		χ	x21
			r

2 Ἦχος πλάγιος β': On Byzantine modes, including the second plagal mode, cf., e.g., E. Wellesz, *A History of Byzantine Music and Hymnography*, 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1961), 300–303, incomprehensible to me. For the use of mode indications in the titles of ninth-century anacreontic poems, cf., e.g., A. Mai in *Spicilegium Romanum*, 9 (1843), 739, 741, 743 (second plagal mode); for mode indications concerning secular and ceremonial songs in Constantine Porphyrogenitus' *De Cerimoniis*, cf. I. Handschin, *Das Zeremonienwerk Kaiser Konstantins und die sangbare Dichtung* (Basel, 1942), 60–62.

2 Ἀρχων τοῦ κόσμου: I was unable to identify this model hymn.

3–4 δότε...δακρύων: This version interchanges the second half-verses of Poem I, 2 and 3; thus Poem III, 3 makes no sense; to obtain sense in Poem III, 4, ρεῦσαι of Poem I, 2 was changed into ρεύσω. That this confusion occurred before the insertion of I, 2–3 into Poem III is shown by manuscript Athens, *Kolybas Library*, 199 (cf. note 23 *supra*), where these lines already appear in the inverted form.

9–10 Βάθος κριμάτων ἀληπτων τῶν σῶν, ... Λόγε: For a parallel in thought and construction, cf. epitaph III, ed. Sternbach (as in commentary to I, 2), 17, 3–4: βρότειος νοῦς ἐκπλήττεται τοὺς λόγους τῆς προνοίας, | πῶς, ὃν ἀνάσσειν ἔχρησεν, ἐξέτεμεν ὡς κλάδον.

12 Γηγενής ... βασιλεὺς καὶ πένης: Cf. Ps. 48 (49):2: οἱ τε γηγενεῖς καὶ οἱ υἱοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ πλοῦσιος καὶ πένης, "both the lowly born and the sons of <rich> men, the rich and the poor man come to the same end."

13 ἐκφεύγεται τὸν ἐπώδυνον τάφον: Cf. epitaph II, ed. Sternbach (as in commentary to I, 2), 16, 6: ... δι' ὅπερ οὐδεὶς παρέλθοι τὸν τάφον, and 19, 45: τὸν τάφον τὸν ἐπώδυνον πᾶς βλέπων στεναξάτω.

22–25 Ζάλην ψυχῶν ἐκοίμιζες ... λόγοις ... ἐν ταπεινώσει ... ὕψος ... ἐδείκνυς: Cf. epitaph III, ed. Sternbach, *ibid.*, 18, 17–18: θαυμάσατε τὸν μίξαντα ταπεινῶσιν ἐν δόξῃ | δι' ὧν περ κατεπράυνε καὶ θηριώδεις γνώμας.

30–31 ρεύματα ... λόγων ... λύρα ὕμνων: Allusion to the thirty-seven Homilies of Leo VI and to his religious poetry, which impressed the Byzantines; cf. *Coislin* 136 of Cedrenus (Apparatus in Cedrenus, *Hist.* II [Bonn], 274): καὶ στιχερά δὲ μελίσσας τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ παρέδωκε ψάλλεσθαι πάσης ἡδύτητος ἀνάπλεα. Cf. C. Emerau, "Hymnographi byzantini ...," *Echos d'Orient*, 23 (1924), 285, and H.-G. Beck, *Kirche und theologische Literatur im byzantinischen Reich* (Munich,

1959), 546–7. Cf. also Nissen, “Die byzantinischen . . .” (as in note 26 *supra*), 56–58, and C. A. Mango in Jenkins-Laourdas-Mango, “Nine Orations of Arethas from *Cod. Marc. Gr.* 524,” *BZ*, 47 (1954), 10. The lost Oration in honor of Lazarus which Leo VI had prepared for delivery in St. Sophia in May of 902 may still have existed in a manuscript owned by a Greek *archōn* at Istanbul *ca.* 1570, cf. R. Foerster, *De antiquitatibus et libris manuscriptis Constantinopolitanis commentatio* (Rostock, 1877), 22, entry ρκγ': λέοντος τοῦ φιλοσόφου καὶ βασιλέως λόγοι καὶ ἐγκώμια καὶ βίος τοῦ ἁγίου καὶ δικαίου λαζάρου.

32 Κλαύσατε πάντες, κλαύσατε: Cf. epitaph I, ed. Sternbach (as in commentary to I, 2), 15: ἄπιτε πάντες, ἄπιτε.

34–35 Λέων καθάπερ ἔβλεπες: Pun on the name Leon. A lion roars, of course; hence βρυχήματι.

40–41 Νομίμω συναφεία . . . ἄρρενος τόκον: Lawful wedlocks without male offspring: the first wife of Leo VI, Theophano, bore him a girl, Eudocia, who died in 892; the second wife, Zoe, also a girl, Anna; the third wife, Eudocia—this marriage was declared legal by patriarchal dispensation—died in April 901 at childbirth; her infant son Basil died with her. Cf., e.g., Τόμος τῆς Ἐνώσεως, G. A. Rhalles and M. Potles, *Syntagma* . . . 5 (Athens, 1855), 3. This left the stage free for the παράβασις νόμου, the fourth marriage to Zoe Carbunopsina, and the Tetragamy affair, alluded to in lines 40–49 of our poem. On the Tetragamy, cf., e.g., N. Popov, *Imperator Lev VI Mudryj* . . . (Moscow, 1892), 90–168, the up-to-date and novel summary by R. J. H. Jenkins, “Eight Letters of Arethas on the Fourth Marriage of Leo the Wise,” *Ἑλληνικά*, 14 (1956), 336–347, and Konstantinides, Νικόλαος . . . (as in note 33 *supra*), 42–49.

43: Cf. commentary to lines 9–10 *supra*.

44 παῖς: Constantine VII, born in September 905; cf. e.g., R. J. H. Jenkins, “The Chronological . . .” (as in commentary to Poem I, *Date*), 109. Constantine’s birth “violated Law’s bounds,” since in September 905, his father, Leo VI, was not yet married to Zoe Carbunopsina; the fourth marriage of Leo was contracted toward the middle or end of April 906, cf. Jenkins, *ibid.*, 110 and “Eight Letters . . .” (as in commentary to lines 40–41 *supra*), 337, 343.

45 ἤργησε: For the use of the verb, cf. epitaph I, ed. Sternbach (as in commentary to I, 2), 15, 10: ποῦ συγγενεῖς . . . μοῦ; πάντως ἀργοῦσι πάντες.

45–46: These two lines are not quite clear to me. The Law in abeyance must be Canon 80 of Saint Basil, Migne, PG, 32, col. 805 AB (against polygamy), *Procheiros Nomos*, tit. 4, 25, eds. I. and P. Zepos, *Jus Graecoromanum*, II (1931), 127–128 (children born from a fourth marriage are illegitimate), and, above all, Leo’s own Novel 90, eds. P. Noailles and A. Dain, *Les nouvelles de Léon VI le Sage* (Paris, 1944), 297–299 (Civil Law assimilated to Canon Law in punishing third marriages). The “enacting of another Law” may refer to Leo’s decision to convoke a Council at which representatives of other patriarchates, above all that of Rome, would render judgment upon the fourth marriage, cf. *Vita Euthymii* XIII, 11–12 = ed. de Boor, 45, 31–46, 10; ed. Karlin-Hayter, *Byzantion*, 25–27 (1955–57), 92, 5–16. The “Canon Law” rendering its judgment would be, then, that Council, which did gather in February of 907, ex-

culpated Leo and confirmed the banishment of Nicholas Mysticus. Cf., e.g., Popov, *Imperator* . . . (as in commentary to lines 40–41 *supra*), 128–129; 146–152.

48–49 πλύνεται τοῦ μιάσματος . . . προσφύεται . . . τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ: Leo's readmission into the fold of the Church was decided at the Synod of 907. This is indirectly stated in *Vita Euthymii* XV, 12–13 = ed. de Boor, 54, 5–14 (cf. esp. 54, 13–14: τὸν βασιλέα εἰσδεχθῆναι ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ παρεκελεύοντο); XXII, 11 = 75, 6–10 = ed. Karlin-Hayter, *Byzantion*, 25–27 (1955–57), 106, 20–29; 144, 34–146, 4. Cf. Popov, *Imperator* . . . (as in commentary to lines 40–41 *supra*), 150. After the synod, the new Patriarch Euthymius, too, readmitted Leo, cf., e.g., Τόμος τῆς Ἐνώσεως (as in commentary to lines 40–41 *supra*), 4, and *Vita Euthymii*, at the passages just quoted.

51 ὑπέρλαμπρον: At the corresponding spot, Poem I, 14 has ὑπέργλυκυν.

53: I have changed σαρκός, “body,” to ψυχῆς, “soul,” since otherwise there is no contrast between line 52, where σάρκες are mentioned, and our line 53. Moreover, ἔνδον, “inside,” points to something spiritual. If, however, σαρκός is maintained, ἔνδον would seem to refer to the “innards” of the body, or to the tomb itself; and the line might be rendered either:

“So that no taint or blemish would
remain within his body.”

or:

“His body thus could be entombed
unblemished and untainted.”

54: Literally: of imperial lineage on the father's side. This remains true, whether the author considered Leo VI as the son of Basil I or of Michael III.

58: For ὕμνησον πόλιν, ὕμνησον, cf. commentary to line 32 *supra* and epitaph III, ed. Sternbach (as in commentary to I, 2), 18, 33: ξάνατε κόμος, ξάνατε; cf. *ibid.*, 15, 7. “Children of Basil” are Alexander and Leo, rather than Alexander and Constantine. The legitimacy of Leo is stressed, perhaps to counter rumors about his descent from Michael III rather than from Basil I.

59 πορφυρίζουσι μᾶλλον . . . τὴν πορφύραν: Cf. epitaph III, ed. Sternbach (as in commentary to I, 2), 18, 12: καὶ τὴν πορφύραν λάμπουσαν ἐδείκνυς λαμπροτέραν; same thought and same device of gradation by means of a *figura etymologica*.

60–61: The structure of the poem requires the presence of Poem I, 17–18 here. These lines must have been inadvertently omitted by the scribe of the *Matritensis* or by his model.

62–63 ἐν γενεᾷ . . . ἀκούσει: Cf. Ps. 13 (14):5, ὁ Θεὸς ἐν γενεᾷ δικαίων. “God is in the righteous generation,” and Prov. 20:12, οὓς ἀκούει, καὶ ὀφθαλμὸς ὁρᾷ.

65: Ἀίδου κευθμῶσι: Cf. epitaph III, ed. Sternbach (as in commentary to I, 2), 19, 50: νῦν δὲ κευθμῶνας (= Nether World) δύσεται (= sun) μετὰ νεκρῶν ὀρῶν σε.

66: Συμφυτῶσα of M is unattested. The correct reading was proposed by Dr. N. M. Panayotakis.

67–68: Here, the structure of the poem requires the presence of an acrostic couplet, the first verse of which started with the letter Ψ. This couplet is now missing. The scribe must have been aware of it, for he left space for two

fifteen-syllable lines between the “Φ” and “Ω” couplets in the lower margin of folio 116^v of the *Matritensis* (see fig. 6). The couplet now missing must have contained praise of Alexander, and may have been eliminated after the latter’s death and *damnatio memoriae*. Indeed, the man whom Leo is asked in the next line (69) to praise as emperor, friend, and lord must be Alexander, since Constantine is mentioned in the next line after that (70).

72 Βάλλετε γόους, βάλλετε: Cf. commentary to 32 and 58 *supra*.

IV

ΣΥΜΕΩΝ ΠΑΤΡΙΚΙΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΑΣΗΚΡΗΤΙΣ, ΤΟΥ ΝΥΝΙ ΜΑΓΙΣΤΡΟΥ ΚΑΙ
ΣΤΡΑΤΙΩΤΙΚΟΥ, ΕΙΣ ΚΩΝΣΤΑΝΤΙΝΟΝ ΤΟΝ ΠΟΡΦΥΡΟΓΕΝΝΗΤΟΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΑ

Ἀπὸ βλεφάρων δάκρυα, ἀπὸ καρδίας θρήνον,
ἐπὶ τῷ πένθει ῥήξωμεν δεῦτε τοῦ Κωνσταντίνου.

5 Βουνοὶ καὶ ὄρη, κλαύσατε σὺν ἡμῖν τὸν δεσπότην,
κοινὴ γὰρ ἡ κατήφεια, κοινὸν τοῦ κόσμου πένθος.

Γυναῖκα τὴν πολὺδακρυν, τὰ ποθινὰ σου τέκνα —
ποῦ λοιπὸν ἀπεδήμησας, δέσποτα Κωνσταντίνε;

Δεινῶν πολλῶν ἔρρύσατο θεὸς σε, Κωνσταντίνε,
10 ἀλλὰ τὸ τέλος ἄφευκτον, ἀνελεῖς ὁ λίθος.
ὦ πένθους πολυστενάκτου.

Δάκρυσιν ἀντὶ μέλανος χρήσομαι πρὸς τὸ πάθος,
τὴν συμφορὰν ἀνάγραπτον θήσω τῆς οἰκουμένης.

Ἐμελλεν ἡ γλυκύτης σου, δέσποτα Κωνσταντίνε,
15 δριμύξαι τῶν ποθούντων σε τὰ σπλάγχνα μετὰ τέλος.

Ζόφον ὑπέδυσ ἦλιε τοῦ τάφου, Κωνσταντίνε,
καὶ σκυθρωπάζει σύμπασα τῆς ἀθυμίας νέφει.

Ἦλιε, τὰς ἀκτῖνάς σου κρύψον ἐκ τῆς ἡμέρας,
ἐν ἣ τὸ φέγγος ἔκρυψε τῆς οἰκουμένης τάφος.

23 Θρήνῃ πᾶς, τὸ μυστήριον τὸ τοῦ θανάτου βλέπων,
24 ἰδοὺ γάρ, σκῆπτρα θρόνοι τε τάφον οὐ δυσωποῦσιν.
22 ναί, στέναζε πᾶσα κτίσις.

20 Ἡμερὸς ὄψις, εὐλαλα χεῖλη, χάρις ὁμμάτων
21 οἶμοι, πῶς νῦν μαραίνεσθε στυγνότητι τοῦ τάφου.

- 25 Ἴδε τὸν σὸν ποθοῦμενον, ἡ Πόλις, βασιλέα·
τὸν πόλεις ἔδαφίσαντα μικρὸς πῶς κρύπτει λίθος.
- “Κλαίεις πικρῶς μὲν σύλυγε καὶ τὰ φίλτατα τέκνα·
χρόνος ὑμᾶς μειλίξεται, ἐμὲ δὲ τήξει τάφος.
- Λέων, τὸν περιπόθητον νῦν δέξου Κωνσταντῖνον,
30 πικράν σοι συναπτόμενον ἐν τάφῳ κοινωνίαν.”
- Ματαιοτήτων ἅπαντα τὰ τῇδε ματαιότης·
ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ κύριος σαπρὰ πρόκειται κόνις.
ναὶ ἄψυχα συνθρηνεῖτε.
- Πάλαι μὲν ὕδωρ ἔβλυσαν πέτραι θεοῦ δυνάμει,
35 νῦν δὲ ρεύσουσι δάκρυα, νικώμεναι τῷ πάθει.
- “Νεότης πολυέραστε, Ῥωμανέ, κράτους ἄνθος,
μέμνησο, τοῦ γεννήτορος τὸν πρὸς σε πόθον οἶδας.
- Ξένην ὁδὸν ἐβάδιζον, ποθῶν εὐχὰς πατέρων,
καὶ παρευθὺς ἀπάγομαι πρὸς ξένην ὄντ<ως> τρίβον.
- 40 Οἶμοι, τερπνὸν ἀγλάϊσμα, Βασίλειε, τοῦ κράτους,
οὐκέτι σε θεάσομαι, φῶς τῷ<ν> ἐμῶν ὁμμάτων·
- Πάντων ὑμῶν χωρίζομαι, πάντων στερεῖ με τάφος.
καὶ τί με τὸ περίβλεπτον ὠφέλησε τοῦ κράτους;
τίς ταῦτα ψυχὴ βαστάζει;
- 45 Ῥανίδες αἱματόχροοι στάλουσιν ἐξ ὁμμάτων,
τῆς συμφορᾶς τὸ μέγεθος ἀφόρητον δηλοῦσαι.
- “Ῥέει τὰ κάτω, φθίρεται, χόρτον ἀγροῦ μιμεῖτ<αι>,
θρόνοι δὲ καὶ διάδημα μακρὸς γέλως καὶ πλάνη.
- Στενὴ μοι τάφος οἴκησις, ἀλλ’ ἐχωρήθην ὄμ<ως>·
50 καὶ τί πρὸς πλάτος ἔβλεπον τῆς οἰκουμένης πάσης,
- Τὴν κατ’ ἐχθρῶν ἐξέλασιν διὰ φροντίδος ἔχων;
τὴν εἰς Ἄϊδην μετάβασιν ἐγγίλουσιν ἡγνούου<ν>.
- Υἱέ μου, τὴν τεκοῦσαν σε θεράπευε καὶ τίμα,
ἐγὼ γὰρ κατεπείγομαι πρὸς τὴν κοινὴν μητέρα.”
55 τὸ πένθος οὐκ ἔχει κόρον.

Τῶν ποταμῶν τὰ ρεύματα τὰς τε φορὰς ἀλλάττου,
ἀρκοῦ<σι> γὰρ τὰ δάκρυα χεόμενα τοῦ κόσμου.

“Φωτὸς στεροῦμαι, δέσποτα, καὶ δόξης ἐπιγείου·
μὴ στερηθῶ τοῦ κάλλους σου καὶ τοῦ φωτὸς ἐκ<είνου>.”

60 Χαίρετε πάντες, χαίρετε, φίλοι, μὴ λάθοιτ<έ> μου,
καὶ τοῦ θανάτου μέμνησθε· πάντας <γὰρ> τάφος μένει.

Ψεύδεται πᾶς· ἐγκόσ<μιος> ἀρχή, δόξα καὶ πλοῦτος,
ἐν μόνον ἀμετ<ά>βλητον, τὸ πρὸς θεὸν ἐλπίζειν.

᾿Ω <βασι>λεῦ καὶ κύριε, κράτος οὐκ ἔχον πέρας,
65 σῆς μ<ετα>σχεῖν ἀξίωσον σὸν Κωνσταντῖνον δόξη<ς>.”
ὦ θλίψεως ἀφορήτου.

Ἀντὶ ψεκᾶδων <ρεύ>ματα σταλάξατε τὰ νέφη,
ὁ Κωνσταντῖνο<ς> τέθνηκε, τοῦ κόσμου ἡ γλυκύτης.

VARIAE LECTIONES: 12 χρήλομαι M 17 τῆς M: γῆ conj. Hunger 35 νικώμεναι scripsi: νικώμενα M 37 οἶδας scripsi: οἶδα M 56 τὰς τε φορὰς ἀλλάττου scripsi: τῆς τε φορὰς ἀλλάκτου M 67 <ρεύ>ματα scripsi, cf. *Poema* IV, 56; an αἵματα aut κύματα?

FONTES ET LOCI PARALLELI: 3 ἀπό—θρήνον: cf. Symeon <Metaphrastes>, *Alphabetum*, l. 1, Migne, PG, 114, col. 132B 3–4 δάκρυα... ῥήξωμεν: cf. Soph., *Trach.*, 852 et 919 31 ματαιοτήτων—ματαιότης: cf. Eccl. 1:2; 12:8 34 πάλαι—δυνάμει: cf. Exod. 17:6 47 ῥέει—μιμείται: cf. Ps. 102 (103):15; 36 (37):2; 101 (102):11; cf. *Poema* II, 15 49 τάφος οἴκησις: cf. Ps. 48 (49):11

Translation

ON THE EMPEROR CONSTANTINE PORPHYROGENITUS,
BY SYMEON, PATRICIAN AND A SECRETIS,
PRESENTLY MAGISTER AND STRATIOTIKOS

Let floods of tears stream down our
cheeks,
Our hearts with sobs be throbbing,
Let us lament the cruel death
Of Constantine the Ruler.

5 Ye hills and mountains, wail with us
Our master's sad departure;
For grief is shared by all alike,
The world itself is mourning.

- Your royal spouse, in tears immersed,
And your beloved children—
To what far country art thou gone
O Constantine, my Ruler?
- O Constantine, the Lord hath thee
From many ills delivered,
10 And yet the end no one can flee,
The tombstone knows no mercy.
O dirges, heavy with sobbing!
- With bitter tears instead of ink
Shall I portray my suff'rings,
Record the universe's loss
For future generations.
- The memory of thy sweet self
O Constantine, my Ruler,
15 Lodged bitter pain within the hearts
Of those who loved you dearly.
- Since Constantine, our Sun, stepped
down
Into sepulchral darkness,
The whole wide world has been in
gloom,
And by despond beclouded.
- O Sun, thy glowing rays withhold
Beginning with the hour
In which the tomb withheld from us
The universe's splendor.
- 23 Lament, all men, of cruel death
The mystery beholding,
24 For lo, the grave is not abashed
By scepter or by throne.
22 O, wail with me, all creation!
- 20 Lips eloquent, mild countenance,
Regard in grace abounding,
21 How fast, alas, you waste away
In coffin's sullen silence.
- 25 O, City, look at thy beloved,
At thy imperial master:
How small the stone which hides from
sight
The leveller of cities.
- "However bitter be your tears,
My spouse and dearest children,
Time shall console you in your grief,
While grave shall melt my body.
- King Leo, now thy Constantine
Receive as thy companion,
30 United bitterly with thee
In fellowship of burial."
- All earthly things are vanity,
Of vanities the greatest:
An emperor is lying dead,
Into foul dust transmuted.
Inanimate things, mourn with
me!
- In olden days, springs gushed from
stones
By God's transcendent power;
35 Now stones shall shed abundant tears
Succumbing to their sorrow.
- "Romanus, most beloved youth,
The State's most noble flower,
Remember thy begetter, child,
Thou know'st his love toward you.
- I set my foot upon strange ground
In search of monkish prayers;
And right away I must begin
An even stranger journey.
- 40 Alas, O Basil, of the State
Adornment most delightful,
No longer shall I look at thee,
The lightray of my eyesight.

- From all of you am I detached,
 The grave of all bereaves me;
 What use to me is now the pomp
 Of the imperial power?"
 What soul can suffer such trial?
- 45 The bitter drops with blood are stained
 That down my cheeks are
 trickling,
 To show how unendurable
 And vast is our misfortune.
- "All earthly things flow past and die,
 They are like grass of meadows;
 And lofty thrones and splendid crowns
 Are laughable illusion.
- A narrow dwelling is the grave,
 Yet I did fit into it.
- 50 Why did I eye the vast expanse
 Of the whole *oecumene*
- And did devise campaigns against
 The foes of our Empire?
 I did not know how soon I was
 To pass to Hades' kingdom.
- My son, thy mother do protect
 And show her proper honors;
 For I must hastily depart
 To earth, the common Mother."
- 55 My sorrow knows of no surfeit.
- Divert the flow of rushing streams,
 Divert their mighty currents;
 For tears that deluge now the world
 Are unto all sufficient.
- "O Lord, of light am I deprived
 And of the earthly glory:
 Deprive me not of Thy own Grace
 And of the Light eternal.
- 60 Farewell ye friends, farewell ye all,
 Do not forget your Ruler,
 And think of death, since murky
 tombs
 For all of us are waiting.
- All worldly Glory, Rule and Wealth
 Are nothing but deception;
 One thing alone remains unchanged:
 The hope in God's assistance.
- O King and Master, Lord of mine
 O Might that knows no limit,
- 65 Allow Thy servant Constantine
 To share in Thine own Glory."
 Oh, how to bear this affliction?
- Instead of dripping drops of rain,
 Send down, o clouds, whole
 torrents:
 For Constantine is dead; the world
 Has lost its sweetest Ruler.

Commentary

Date: November 959 (For discussion see pp. 222–223 *infra*).

Meter and Structure: The pattern is close to that of Poem III, but more regular; with one exception, Poem IV can be articulated into groups of stanzas of four acrostic couplets in politic verse; these groups are separated from each other by three lines: a "refrain" in Byzantine anacreontics and a couplet in politic verse.

The structure of Poem IV, as transmitted in the *Matritensis*, is thus as follows (A α, B β = couplets of the acrostics; r = anacreontic refrains; y¹, y² = insertions into the acrostic structure of Poem IV):

A	y ³	N	Υ
α	y ⁴	ν	υ
	r		τ
B		Ξ	
β	Θ	ξ	y ⁹
	θ		y ¹⁰
Γ		Ο	
γ	Ι	ο	Φ
	ι		φ
Δ		Π	
δ	Κ	π	Χ
τ	κ	τ	χ
y ¹	Λ	y ⁷	Ψ
y ²	λ	y ⁸	ψ
E	M	P	Ω
ε	μ	ρ	ω
	τ		τ
Z		Σ	
ζ	y ⁵	σ	y ¹¹
	y ⁶		y ¹²
H		Τ	
η		τ	

The only irregularity in the poem's structure occurs in the second strophe comprising the acrostics E–Θ. To obtain perfect articulation—and to reestablish what I consider to be the original order of lines—it is sufficient to interchange the positions of verses y³–y⁴ and Θ–θ, respectively. I have done so in editing the text of Poem IV, since the operation is not detrimental to the sequence of such thought as the poem contains.

On the other hand, while the “x” lines of Poem III had been extracted from Poem I, the twelve “y” lines of Poem IV seem never to have been a part of an independent unit, for there is too little continuity of thought in them. As ten out of twelve “y” lines deal with the flow of tears, they may come from a collection of stock verses which writers of funerary poetry had at their disposal.

1–2 Συμεών . . . νυνί . . . στρατιωτικοῦ: The word νυνί, “now,” indicates that the title of Poem IV, as it reads now in the *Matritensis*, was formulated when Symeon, the poem's author, was still alive; such incidental details are given for the benefit of contemporaries interested in the vicissitudes of a person's

official career, not in order to impress later readers—for those, a famous name alone is sufficient recommendation. It follows that the information which the title gives is of value. We learn from it that Symeon was active as a writer by the time of the death of Constantine VII (959); at that date—or, conceivably, somewhat later—he held the rank of patrician and exercised the function of an *asecretis* or rather a *protoasecretis*;³⁷ afterward, but before the time at which the title to Poem IV was composed, the same Symeon was promoted to the rank of magister and exercised the function of (a logothete) τοῦ στρατιωτικοῦ.³⁸

Except for this last piece of information, all the epithets quoted in our Poem IV reappear in connection with several Symeons known in the tenth century, particularly in its second half. To start with the lower rank and function, between 923 and 930 one Symeon, patrician and *protoasecretis*, sent secret instruction from the emperor to another patrician, then in Nicomedia;³⁹ before 963 and in 964 and 967, a Patrician and *Protoasecretis* Symeon composed novels issued by Romanus II and Nicephorus Phocas;⁴⁰ when on June 29, 968, Liutprand of Cremona angrily stalked out of an imperial reception, the “*proto a secretis Simeon*” was one of the two officials who ran after him “barking” excuses;⁴¹ under the Patriarch Nicholas Chrysoberges (thus after 984) a “secretary” and logothete Symeon was famous for his hagiographic works;⁴²

³⁷ The manuscript reading is ἀσικρήτης; however, patrician is too high a rank for the function of a mere member of the chancery. “Patrician” is coupled with “protoasecretis” in the *Kletorologion* of Philotheos, 729, 4 = ed. J. B. Bury, *The Imperial Administrative System in the Ninth Century* (London, 1911), 147, 25. The “a” in *asecretis* may have had a numerical value of “first.” For a parallel case, cf. Bury, *ibid.*, 92. On the *protoasecretis*, cf., e.g., F. Dölger, *Byzantinische Diplomatie* (Ettal, 1956), 62–63; on the patrician at the time which interests us, cf., e.g., R. Guiland, “Les patrices byzantins sous le règne de Constantin VII Porphyrogénète (913–959),” now reprinted in the same author’s *Recherches sur les institutions byzantines*, II [= Berliner byzantinistische Arbeiten, 35] (Berlin-Amsterdam, 1967), 178–202, cf. esp. 194.

³⁸ Cf. de Boor, “Weiteres” (as in note 2 *supra*), 413 note 1. The manuscript reads simply στρατιωτικοῦ. That στρατιωτικός was a short form for λογοθέτης τοῦ στρατιωτικοῦ appears from the epithet of the Emperor Michael Stratioticus (for its meaning, cf. Attaleiates, *Hist.* [Bonn], 52, 21); furthermore, with reference to the ninth and tenth centuries, from Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De Cerimoniis*, I (Bonn), 479, 6–7 (διὰ τοῦ στρατιωτικοῦ) and 698, 19 (οἱ τοῦ στρατιωτικοῦ); cf. Reiske, *ibid.*, II, 154; Theoph. Cont., *Hist.* (Bonn), 470, 7–8 (ἀπὸ στρατιωτικῶν); Cedrenus, *Hist.*, II (Bonn), 129, 15 (Γεωργίῳ τῷ στρατιωτικῷ); Peira, XVI, 9, ed. C. E. Zachariae v. Lingenthal, *Jus Graeco-Romanum*, I (Leipzig, 1856), 52, 6 = I. and P. Zepos, *Jus Graecoromanum*, IV (Athens, 1931), 57, 18–19 (ὁ στρατιωτικός Παῦλος). The unpublished tenth-century *Tacticon* discovered by N. Oikonomides has ὁ στρατιωτικός λογοθέτης, cf. *Scorialensis Graecus* R – II – 11, fol. 269^v, line 22. The *Tacticon* Uspenskiij (ca. middle of the ninth century) has, in the sixtieth and sixty-first places, ὁ τοῦ στρατιωτικοῦ, cf. *Izvestija russkogo arxeol. Instituta v Konstantinopole*, 3 (1898), 119. I am indebted to Mr. Oikonomides for several pieces of information pertaining to the form *stratiōtikos*.

³⁹ Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De Administrando Imperio*, chap. 46, 67–68; eds. Moravcsik-Jenkins, 2nd ed., *Dumbarton Oaks Texts*, I (Washington, D.C., 1967) [= *Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae*, I], 218; cf. Steven Runciman in R. J. H. Jenkins *et al.*, *Constantine Porphyrogenitus, De Administrando Imperio, Commentary*, 180.

⁴⁰ Cf. Zachariae v. Lingenthal, *Jus Graeco-Romanum*, III (Leipzig, 1857), 287, 6–7; 292, 6; 296, 26–297, 1 = I. and P. Zepos, *Jus Graecoromanum*, I (Athens, 1931), 244, 32–33; 249, 5–6; 253, 6–7; cf. F. Dölger, *Regesten der Kaiserurkunden* . . . I (1924), nos. 691, 699, 712.

⁴¹ *Legatio*, chap. 19 = ed. J. Becker, pp. 185, 34–186, 1.

⁴² Cf. V. R. Rozen, *Imperator Vasilij Bolgarobojca* (St. Petersburg, 1883), 14; eds. I. Kratschkovsky and A. Vasiliev, *Histoire de Yahya-ibn-Sa'id d'Antioche* . . . [= *Patrologia Orientalis*, 23] (1932), 402 [194]. The Georgian writer Ephraim the Younger, a contemporary of Yahya, puts the *floruit* of Symeon Metaphrastes in the sixth year of Basil II, thus in ca. 982. Cf. e.g., P. Peeters, *Analecta Bollandiana*, 29 (1910), 358.

the last reference combines the titles of *asecretis* and logothete in one person, and concerns, of course, Symeon Metaphrastes.

On the other hand, between August and October 975 a Symeon, magister and logothete, interpreted—wrongly, as it turned out—the meaning of a comet's apparition to John Tzimisces;⁴³ in the first half of the eleventh century a subordinate of Magister Eustathios reminisced that, as a young man, his superior (who was still alive by 1025) once enjoyed the support of one Symeon, magister and logothete;⁴⁴ when Symeon Metaphrastes died, his close friend Nicephorus Ouranos called him "the marvel of the council of magisters."⁴⁵ By now we have linked Metaphrastes with the titles *asecretis*, logothete, and magister. The epistolary collections of Patmos and of the Athonite Laura attribute a number of letters to a Symeon magister and logothete of the Drome, or to Symeon magister and logothete, although one of the letters is entitled "By the *Protoasecretis*"; several letters by Symeon in the Patmos collection can be safely attributed to the late tenth century.⁴⁶ A Symeon, magister and logothete of the Drome wrote a poem on Stylianus who lived at the end of the tenth century;⁴⁷ one Magister and Logothete Symeon wrote a *Synopsis Canonum*,⁴⁸ and a Symeon called simply magister, an anthology of thirty sermons culled from John Chrysostom.⁴⁹ All Byzantinists know that several manuscripts credit a Symeon, magister and logothete, with the compiling of a chronicle; this compilation was made soon after 948.⁵⁰

Finally, the dirge by Nicephorus Ouranos which has just been quoted, is addressed "to Symeon Metaphrastes, Logothete of the Drome;"⁵¹ *Parisinus Graecus* 13 assigns the canon on Mary the Egyptian to "Symeon, Magister and Logothete, the Metaphrast,"⁵² and in the *Baroccianus* 131 a letter is attributed to "Logothete Sir Symeon, the Metaphrast."⁵³

⁴³ Leo Diaconus, *Hist.*, 168, 19–169, 13 Bonn.

⁴⁴ *Peira*, LXIV, 1, ed. Zachariae v. Lingenthal, *Jus Graeco-Romanum*, I, 272, 17–20 = I. and P. Zepos, *Jus Graecoromanum*, IV (1931), 237, 25–28.

⁴⁵ Στίχοι τοῦ Οὐρανοῦ πρὸς τὸν Συμεῶνα... , line 6: Συμεῶν, τὸ θαῦμα βουλῆς μεγίστρων, ed. S. G. Mercati, "Versi di Niceforo Uranos in morte di Simeone Metafraste," *AnalBoll*, 68 (1950), 130.

⁴⁶ Cf. J. Darrouzès, *Epistoliers byzantins du Xe siècle* (Paris, 1960), 11, 14, 34, 99 (Patmos); 22, 145 (Laura); 33, 148 (letter 87 by the *Protoasecretis*); 37 (date of letter 4 and of neighboring letters).

⁴⁷ Thus *Vaticanus Graecus* 990, fol. 210r: Cf. Mercati, "Versi..." (as in note 45 *supra*), 129–130; full text in Migne, PG, 114, cols. 133D–135B. Cf. note 56 *infra* for a penitential acrostic by Symeon, logothete and magister, in *Atheniensis Graecus* 1197, fols. 194r–195r.

⁴⁸ Migne, PG, 114, cols. 235–292; cf. A. P. Christophilopoulos, "Ἡ κανονικὴ Σύνοψις καὶ ὁ Συμεὼν ὁ Μεταφραστὴς," in 'Ἐπετηρὶς 'Ετ. Βυλ. Σπουδῶν, 19 (1949), 155–157.

⁴⁹ Such is the attribution in *Athous Laura* Γ 111, cf. N. B. Tomadakis, "Ἐἰς Συμεῶνα τὸν Μεταφραστήν," in 'Ἐπετηρὶς 'Ετ. Βυλ. Σπουδῶν, 23 (1953), 119.

⁵⁰ For the (voluminous) literature, cf., e.g., Gyula Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, I (2nd ed., 1958), 515–518; A. P. Každan, *Vizantijskij Vremennik*, 15 (1959), 125–143; 19 (1961), 76–96; 20 (1961), 106–128; for a clear and succinct statement on "Symeon's" chronicle, cf. Jenkins, "The Chronological..." (as in the commentary to Poem I, Date, *supra*, p. 195), 91, note 3, with some further bibliography.

⁵¹ Mercati, "Versi..." (as in note 45 *supra*), 130.

⁵² Tomadakis, "Ἐἰς Συμεῶνα..." (as in note 49 *supra*), 119.

⁵³ Darrouzès, *Epistoliers...*, (as in note 46 *supra*), 34. *Vindobonensis Theol. Graecus* 231, fols. 6v–8v contains an acrostic *sticheron* by "Logothete and Metaphrastes Sir Symeon;" cf. Krumbacher, *Geschichte d. byz. Lit.*, 720; *Vindobonensis Theol. Gr.* 247, fols. 1v–3v has a poem, in politic verse, *On Christ's Crucifixion* by the pen κυρίου Συμεῶν τοῦ λογοθέτου καὶ Μεταφραστοῦ, cf. D. de Nessel, *Catalogus... Bibliothecae... Vindobonensis* (Vienna-Nuremberg, 1690), 346–347. Finally, a colophon of *Patmiacus Graecus* 245 speaks of βιβλία τῶν μεταφράσεων τοῦ λογοθέτου, cf., e.g., F. Dölger, *BZ*, 34 (1934), 402, with bibliography.

It has long been conjectured that at least some of these Symeons were in reality one, namely Symeon later called Metaphrastes, a high imperial official, hagiographer, lawyer, legal writer, chronicle compiler—and poet.⁵⁴ Our title provides substantiation for the conjecture: it refers to the promotion of a tenth-century patrician and *asecretis*, Symeon, to the rank of magister and logothete, and thus combines in one person the titles with which other sources separately endow Metaphrastes.

The new text claimed here for Metaphrastes fits his poetic dossier very well.⁵⁵ The first line of our Poem IV, ἀπὸ βλεφάρων δάκρυα, ἀπὸ καρδίας θρήνον, is almost identical with the first line of the self-flagellating acrostic by “Symeon, magister and logothete of the Drome” ἀπὸ βλεφάρων δάκρυα, ἀπὸ καρδίας πόνους. This coincidence is not surprising if the two lines are by the same author and, to judge by modern authorities and by a part of the manuscript tradition, this author is Metaphrastes.⁵⁶

There remains the new piece of information provided by the title of Poem IV, namely, Symeon’s having been (logothete) τοῦ στρατιωτικοῦ. In previously known sources, Symeon Metaphrastes is called logothete τοῦ δρόμου or simply

⁵⁴ For recent literature, cf. J. Gouillard, *s.v.* “Syméon Logothète et Magistros...,” *Dict. de théologie catholique*, 14, 2 (1941), cols. 2959–2971 (with earlier bibliography); Christophilopoulos, “Ἡ κανονική...” (as in note 48 *supra*); Tomadakis, “Εἰς Συμεῶνα...” (as in note 49 *supra*), 113–138 (cf. however, 120: Symeon the Logothete and Symeon Metaphrastes may be one and the same person, but Symeon Metaphrastes never composed chronicles); Darrouzès, *Epistoliers*... (as in note 46 *supra*), 33–38 and “Inventaire...” (as in note 11 *supra*); cf. also the succinct but clear sketch by S. Der Nersessian, “The Illustrations of the Metaphrastian Menologium,” *Late Classical and Medieval Studies in Honor of A. M. Friend, Jr.* (Princeton, 1955), 222–223.

⁵⁵ A dossier of poems which are unquestionably by Metaphrastes is still to be drawn up. Beginnings of it can be made by combining S. Eustratiades, “Συμεῶν λογοθέτης ὁ Μεταφραστής,” in “Ἐπετηρίς Ἑτ. Βυζ. Σπουδῶν, 8 (1931), 60–65, Gouillard, “Syméon...” (as in preceding note), cols. 2963–2965; and A. D. Komines, *Τὸ βυζαντινὸν ἱερὸν ἐπὶ γράμμα...* (1966), 143–144. Cf. also P. N. Trempelas, “Ἐκλογή... ὑμνογραφίας (1949), 255–257; Tomadakis, “Εἰς Συμεῶνα...” (as in note 49 *supra*), 134; poems mentioned in notes 47, 52, 53, 57 of the present article; in all likelihood, iambic verses on the Holy Trinity, ed. J. Koder, “Ein Dreifaltigkeitshymnus des Symeon Metaphrastes,” *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen byzantinischen Gesellschaft*, 14 (1965), 129–138; most probably the Christopher epitaphs of 931 (see commentary to Poem I, 2 *supra*); and, among our poems, at least Poem IV.

⁵⁶ The text of ἀπὸ βλεφάρων... πόνους was published by Leo Allatius and reprinted, fully, in Migne, PG, 114, cols. 132B–133B; partially, in F. W. A. Mullach, *Coniectaneorum Byzantinorum libri duo* (Berlin, 1852), 44; corrections, based on the readings of *Paris. Suppl. Gr.* 690, fol. 65^v, in Sternbach (as in the commentary to Poem I, 2), 14–15. In Migne, the title is, in part, κυροῦ Συμεῶν καὶ λογοθέτου τοῦ δρόμου; the *Parisinus*, however, has στίχοι παρακλητικοὶ Συμεῶν μαγίστρου καὶ λογοθέτου τοῦ δρόμου..., cf. Sternbach, *ibid.*, 14 and *Athen. Gr.* 1197, fol. 194^r, στίχοι κατανυκτικοὶ κατὰ ἀλφαβήτου τοῦ κυροῦ Συμεῶν τοῦ λογοθέτου καὶ μαγίστρου. *Vaticanus Palat. Graecus* 367, fol. 135^r (source of Allatius?), calls the author “Symeon, logothete of the Drome”; cf. H. Stevenson, *Codices... Palatini Graeci...* (Rome, 1885), 232 and Krumbacher *GBL*³, 719. In *Baroccianus* 131, fol. 70^v, the title is only τοῦ Συμεῶν; however, the scribe seems to have differentiated between Symeon and the author called “magister”. On fol. 70^v, our poem ἀπὸ βλεφάρων is preceded by ἀλφαβητάριον Συμεῶν μαγίστρου τοῦ λογοθέτου, inc. ἀπὸ χειλέων λόγους σοι ποίους προσοίσω λέγειν (a text attributed variously to Symeon Metaphrastes and Nicephorus Ouranos, cf., e.g., A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, “Βυζαντινὰ ἀνάλεκτα...,” *BZ*, 8 [1899], 66–67); above both poems, the scribe wrote: τοῦ μαγίστρου οὗτοι, οἱ δὲ κάτωθεν εἰσι τοῦ Συμεῶν. Does this indicate that, for the scribe of the *Baroccianus*, the μάγιστρος par excellence was Nicephorus Ouranos? The identification of the author of the poem ἀπὸ βλεφάρων in Migne with Metaphrastes rests not only on modern authorities, such as Leo Allatius, *Diatriba De Simeonum Scriptis* (Rome, 1669), 133, reprinted in Migne, PG, 114, col. 132AB, Mercati, “Versi...” (as in note 45 *supra*), 128, and Eustratiades, “Συμεῶν...” (as in the preceding note), 64, but also on the *Vat. Gr.* 1277, fol. 33^r, where the poem’s title runs Συμεῶν τοῦ Μεταφραστοῦ and, seemingly, on *Athous Laura* Θ 19, fol. 263^r, where it perhaps reads στίχοι κατανυκτικοὶ τοῦ Μεταφραστοῦ; cf. Spyridon Lauriotis and Sophronios Eustratiades, *Catalogue... of the Laura...* (Cambridge, Mass., 1925), 135 = no. 881.

logothete, which short form, we are told, stands for logothete of the Drome.⁵⁷ Still, we should not give up equating Symeon the *stratiōtikos* of our poem with Metaphrastes, since Metaphrastes' connection with matters military seems to be alluded to in one hitherto unexploited passage of Psellos. Psellos wrote his *Eulogy* of Symeon Metaphrastes⁵⁸ more, though not much more, than half a century after Symeon's death, a short enough span of time for reliable information still to have been available to him. Outlining Symeon's governmental career, Psellos began by stating that at first his hero "supervised the most secret affairs, and participated, together with other councillors, in secret councils"⁵⁹—an appropriate transposition of the function of (*proto*)*asecretis* into the language of rhetoric. Some ten lines of text further on, Psellos turned to Symeon's subsequent, and different, official functions. They were "to push the barbarians far away from the land of the Romans, and to subdue some of them, either by military means, or by wile."⁶⁰ To say this, I submit—if with some caution—is to assign to Metaphrastes the function of the logothete τοῦ στρατιωτικοῦ and to transpose it into the same language of rhetoric.

Furthermore, Metaphrastes' official dealings in military matters are reflected in three passages of his own correspondence. In a letter written to Symeon at an indeterminate date, an unnamed individual denounced the metropolitan see of Patras for having allegedly seized a large number of στρατιωτῶν τόπους, "soldier's lots."⁶¹ Between 963 and 967, Symeon wrote two official circulars to the monastic communities of Bithynian Olympus, of Kyminas, and of Mounts Latros and Athos; in the first, he exhorted them to pray for "our armed forces," τὰ στρατεύματα ἡμῶν, who were about to set out on a campaign against the Hamdanite Emir;⁶² in the second, he solicited the monks' prayers for "our

⁵⁷ So D. Reiske in Const. Porph., *De Cerim.*, II (Bonn), 276, repeated, e.g., in de Boor, "Weiteres. . ." (as in note 2 *supra*), 413 note 1; Bury, *The Imperial...* (as in note 37 *supra*), 91–92; Tomadakis, "Εἰς Συμεῶνα..." (as in note 49 *supra*), 117. In addition to texts just quoted, Symeon is simply called "logothete" in the title of the iambic poems edited by V. Vasil'evskij, "Dva nadgrobnyx stixotvorenija Simeona Logofeta," *VizVrem*, 3 (1896), 574–578; the first of these poems mourns the death of Stephen, son of Romanus Lecapenus. Stephen died in 963.

⁵⁸ E. Kurtz and F. Drexel, eds., *Michaelis Pselli Scripta Minora*, I (Milan, 1936), 94–107.

⁵⁹ Kurtz-Drexel (as in preceding note), 98, 11–14: καὶ πρῶτα μὲν ταῖς μυστικτέραις ἐφειστήκει τῶν πράξεων καὶ τοῖς ἀπορρήτοις βουλευμασι κοινῶν παρεισθίκει τοῖς συμβουλευουσιν.

⁶⁰ Kurtz-Drexel (as in note 58 *supra*), 98, 23–25: βαρβάρους τε πόρρω τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἀπώσασθαι γῆς, τοὺς δὲ καὶ καταγωνίσασθαι ἢ στρατεύμασιν ἢ τεχνάσμασιν. In his *Synaxarium* on Metaphrastes, Markos Eugenikos (d. 1444/5) wrote that Symeon "exerted himself in tactical matters in the palace and, as he himself says, would hasten along with the best of generals and accompany them": ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις περὶ τὰ τακτικά γυμναζόμενος καὶ τοῖς ἀρίστοις τῶν στρατηγῶν, ὡς αὐτὸς φησι, παραθέων καὶ συνεπόμενος, ed. A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Μαυρογορδάτειος Βιβλιοθήκη*, Ἀνέκδοτα Ἑλληνικά (1884) [= Ὁ ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει Ἑλλην. Φιλολ. Σύλλογος, Παράρτημα of vol. 17] (1886), 100–101. I have not used this passage here, since I suspect that "as he himself says" refers not to Symeon, but to Psellos, who was demonstrably one of Eugenikos' sources.

⁶¹ Letter 5, 9–10, ed. Darrouzès, *Epistoliers...* (as in note 46 *supra*), 102.

⁶² Letter 83, 6–7, ed. *ibid.*, 146. Symeon was also informed about the anticipated route of an Arab *vazzia*. Cf. Letter 89, 6–7, ed. *ibid.*, 150: ἡ... τῶν Ἀγαρηνῶν ἐφοδος, οὐκ ἀπροσδόκιμος οὖσα καὶ τὴν τῶν Ἀρμενικῶν καταδραμεῖν <sc. γῆν>, "the Arab incursion which was expected to devastate the Armeniac theme as well," (not "the Arab *vazzia* made it impossible to go down to the Armeniac theme," as understood by Darrouzès, *ibid.*, in the letter's summary). However, such information could also have been available to the logothete of the Drome, who handled intelligence matters. Cf. D. A. Miller, "The Logothete of the Drome in the Middle Byzantine Period," *Byzantion*, 36 (1966), 468 note 1.

navy protected by God," ὁ Θεοφύλακτος ἡμῶν στόλος, which was about to sail against the Arab foe in Calabria.⁶³

I am aware of the pitfalls of making Symeon Metaphrastes logothete of the *stratiōtikon*: on the one hand, the logothete of the Drome—a function safely attested for him—was on occasion entrusted with the command of armies;⁶⁴ on the other, the logothete τοῦ στρατιωτικοῦ was a quartermaster general rather than a field commander.⁶⁵ Still, there are strong enough reasons for advancing our hypothesis: Psellos' decision to use the word στρατεύμασι rather than a cognate of δρόμος;⁶⁶ the three passages of Symeon's correspondence; and the consideration, already stated above, that the word στρατιωτικοῦ occurring in the title of Poem IV could hardly have been a later scribal error or a misunderstanding by the person who first composed that title.

A connection, in a person's title, between the rank of magister and the function of στρατιωτικὸς λογοθέτης—normally only an anthypate patrician—offers no difficulty, since the combination magister and logothete of the Drome is impeccably attested, and in Symeon's time the logothete of the *stratiōtikon* ranked *above* the logothete of the Drome.⁶⁷

4–5 ῥήξωμεν . . . Βουνοὶ καὶ ὄρη: cf. epitaph III, ed. Sternbach (as in commentary to I, 2), 18, 19: "Ὀρη, βουνοὶ καὶ φάραγγες, ῥήξατε θρηνηδίας.

7 τέκνα —: There seems to be an anacoluthon here, rather than a missing line, since we do have a couplet, as we do for every other letter of the acrostic.

⁶³ Letter 88, 2–3, ed. Darrouzès, *ibid.*, 149.

⁶⁴ Cf. D. A. Miller, "The Logothete . . ." (as in note 62 *supra*), esp. 461–462; on pages 463 and 469 Miller does list Symeon (magister) as logothete of the Drome, but does not connect him with Symeon Metaphrastes.

⁶⁵ Cf., e.g., Bury, *The Imperial . . .* (as in note 37 *supra*), 90–91; F. Dölger, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der byzantinischen Finanzverwaltung . . .* [= *Byzantisches Archiv*, 9] (Leipzig, 1927), 21–22.

⁶⁶ Cf. note 60 *supra*.

⁶⁷ This is the order of precedence recorded both in the *Kletorologion* of Philotheus, cf. Const. Porph., *De Cerim.*, I (Bonn), 713, 22–24 and 728, 16–19 (= Bury, *The Imperial . . .* [as in note 37 *supra*], 137; 147) and in the *Tacticon* recently discovered by N. Oikonomides (see note 38 *supra*). If Symeon Metaphrastes was logothete of the *stratiōtikon*, we have one more explanation of a puzzling reference in Symeon's own Letter 82, 8, ed. Darrouzès, *Epistoliers . . .* (as in note 46 *supra*), 146, to a logothete of the Drome in the third person. It has been explained by assuming that at the time of writing Letter 82 Symeon was still only a *protoasecretis*. However, we can also eliminate the difficulty by assuming that Letter 82 could date from the time of Symeon's promotion to a rank higher than that of logothete of the Drome, namely that of logothete of the *stratiōtikon*. Among the letters which Darrouzès, the editor of Symeon's dossier, attributed to Nicholas Mysticus, several—all of which Professor Jenkins, too, considered to be by that Patriarch—dealt with the conflict of interests between the ecclesiastical and the military establishments. In Letter 25, 20–30, ed. Darrouzès, *Epistoliers*, 116, the Patriarch told a high imperial official that manpower which had been assigned to the Church should not be employed for military tasks; in Letters 30, 6–13 and 50, 13–15, ed. *ibid.*, 120 and 131, he requested a *stratēgos* (?) and a high official respectively to free two young *protégés* of his from military duty; in Letter 31, 5–7; 10–11; 16–18, ed. *ibid.*, 120–121, he reminded another high official to see to it that, during a Bulgarian war, Byzantine "soldiers" should not "eat up" the property of his own sister-in-law; finally, in Letter 66, 13–19; 24–25, ed. *ibid.*, 138–139, Nicholas rebuked an official for allowing Church property to be confiscated in order to provide compensation for the ravages of war and to pay for defensive alliances. The editor found the presence of Nicholas' letters among those of Symeon's an enigma; to explain it, he assumed that Symeon, when he was a young man, might have worked in Nicholas' chancery (Nicholas died in 925) or might have collected Nicholas' autographs (*ibid.*, 38). Another explanation could be that Nicholas' letters entered the dossier of Symeon because several of them dealt with "stratiotic" problems, the same problems which were dealt with in Symeon's Letters 5, 83, and 88 and which may have been his official concern.

17: καὶ σκυθρῶπάζει σύμπασα <i.e., κτίσις>: cf. acrostic epitaph III, ed. Sternbach (as in commentary to I, 2), 17, 1: ἅπασα κτήσις [read κτίσις] . . . σκυθρῶπασον. Professor Hunger suggests σύμπασα γῆ instead of the attested σύμπασα τῆς.

22: στέναζε πᾶσα κτίσις: cf. acrostic epitaph III, ed. Sternbach (as in commentary to I, 2), 17, 1: ἅπασα κτήσις [read κτίσις] πένθησον.

29: Constantine was buried next to his father, Leo VI; cf. Cedrenus, *Hist.* II (Bonn), 338, 4–5.

33: ἄψυχα συνθρηνεῖτε: cf. epitaph III, ed. Sternbach (as in commentary to I, 2), 18, 20: τοῦ πάθους γὰρ τὸ μέγεθος καὶ ἄψυχα μαλάττει.

38–39 ξένην ὁδὸν . . . ξένην τρίβον: The “strange ground,” or, rather, “road,” is the journey to Bithynian Olympus, famous for its monastic communities; Constantine undertook this journey in September of 959; cf. Cedrenus, *Hist.* II (Bonn), 337, 13–15. The yet “stranger journey” is Constantine’s death on November 9, 959; cf. Cedrenus, *ibid.*, 337, 23. In giving the desire for the prayers of the fathers of Olympus as the ground for Constantine’s journey, our Symeon follows the official court version. Cedrenus knows it, too (cf. *ibid.*, 337, 15–16: Constantine went to Olympus τῷ μὲν δοκεῖν ταῖς τῶν ἐκεῖσε πατέρων εὐχαῖς θωρακισθῆναι), but tells us that the real reason for the trip was the Emperor’s desire to encounter Theodore, metropolitan of Cyzicus, and to plot with him the removal of the Patriarch Polyeuctus (cf. *ibid.*, 337, 17–20).

40 Βασίλειε (without mention of Constantine VIII): This line confirms the system of the chroniclers and charters who put the birth of Basil II before, and that of Constantine VIII after, the death of Constantine VII in 959.⁶⁸

42 πάντων ὑμῶν χωρίζομαι . . . στερεῖ με τάφος: cf. epitaph I, ed. Sternbach (as in commentary to I, 2), 15, line 11: μόνος ὑμῶν χωρίζομαι, μόνος ὑμῶν στεροῦμαι, and line 14: τάφος γὰρ ὁ πικρότατος ἀφ’ ὑμῶν με χωρίζει.

50–52 τὴν κατ’ ἐχθρῶν ἐξέλασιν: These lines are confirmed by Cedrenus’ remark (*Hist.* II [Bonn], 337, 16–17) that another ostensible reason for Constantine’s trip to Bithynia was the preparation of a campaign against the Saracens. Thus, our poem once more reflects the official court version.

56 ἀλλάττου: I have altered the text, since I do not understand ἀλλάκτου offered by the manuscript, and since the line requires a verb. For a conceptual and syntactical parallel, cf. epitaph III, ed. Sternbach (as in commentary to I, 2), 18, 9–10: ρεῖθρα Νειλῶα παύσασθε πρὸς θάλασσαν εἰσρέειν. If ἀλλάττου is the correct, the spelling of the manuscript parallels the “hypercorrect” errors in Latin manuscripts, which write *commictimus*, *promictimus*, *dimictendi* instead of *committimus*, etc. These examples were culled from *Regii Neapolitani Archivi Monumenta* . . . , I (Naples, 1845), nos. 35 (a. 941) and 41 (a. 945), 126 and 150. This and the wrong stress ἐσθης in Poem II, 14, might indicate that at some point our poem was copied by a scribe living in a Latin milieu.

⁶⁸ On the birth dates of Basil II and Constantine VIII, cf. K. Uhlirz, “Über die Herkunft der Theophanu, Gemahlin Kaisers Otto II,” *BZ*, 4 (1895), 477; G. Schlumberger, *L’épopée byzantine à la fin du dixième siècle* (Paris, 1896–1905), 328 note 2; and N. A. Oikonomides, “La Cronologia dell’Incoronazione dell’Imperatore Bizantino Costantino VIII (962),” *Studi Salentini*, 19 (1965), 172–175 (years 958 and 960–61 respectively).

Poems I to III and IV are dirges on two emperors, father and son, the former of whom died in 912, the latter, in 959. They purport to be occasional poetry and their date should be that of the occasions that had brought them forth: obituaries, as opposed to biographies, are written soon after people's deaths. Accordingly, I have dated Poems I to III to before 913 (?) and IV to before 960, most probably to November of 959.

Two conceivable objections may be raised against this dating. The first of them derives from the observation that several lines of Poem IV are paralleled in passages of Scylitzes-Cedrenus. The invitation to Leo to "receive" his beloved son Constantine may be juxtaposed with Scylitzes' information that Constantine was buried in his father's tomb;⁶⁹ the search for monkish prayers alludes to Constantine VII's trip to the Bithynian Olympus;⁷⁰ and the planning of campaigns against enemies of the Empire to the rumor, spread by Constantine himself, that while in Bithynia he was to map out an undertaking against the Saracens.⁷¹ This observation may lead to the presumption that Poem IV is not a dirge composed in 959, but a later school exercise in which a trickle of facts derived from Scylitzes or a similar source has joined the stream of tears flowing through this kind of literature. By extension, Poems I to III may be later exercises as well; this would be especially likely of Poem II with its "ethopoetic" title, redolent of the classroom.

As the argument puts it, poems of this kind, for instance those recorded in the index to the *Barberinianus* 310 (*olim* 246), were not necessarily written by the authors to whom they are ascribed and are not necessarily contemporary with the events to which they refer.⁷²

This first objection is not valid. There is no difficulty in granting that many of these poems (especially *ethopoiiae*) were exercises, if by this term are meant products of a frigid muse. However, as the best minds of Byzantium indulged in such trifles, there is no reason to deny the authorship of this poetry to a Photius (who is said to have written an anacreontic poem put into the mouth [ἐκ προσώπου] of Basil I) or to a Symeon Metaphrastes, when its subject matter is concrete historical events.⁷³ Nor is there any *prima facie* reason to deny that this poetry was contemporary with that subject matter. A weighty metrical argument indeed would be needed to show that poems similar to the two written Εἰς τὴν ὀλῶσιν τῆς πόλεως Συρακούσης, mentioned among the titles

⁶⁹ Compare Poem IV, 29 with Cedrenus, *Hist.*, II (Bonn), 338, 4–5.

⁷⁰ Compare Poem IV, 38 with Cedrenus, *ibid.*, 337, 14–16.

⁷¹ Compare Poem IV, 51 with Cedrenus, *ibid.*, 337, 16–17 and *Matritensis Graecus*, Vitr. 26–2, fol. 139^r.

⁷² Cf. Nissen, "Die byzantinischen..." (as in note 26 *supra*), 14–16; 58; 72. Nissen's argument concerns anacreontics of the ninth and early tenth centuries; it is, however, refuted here, since it applies to Poems I–IV as well.

⁷³ For a prominent personality who treated an actual subject of his own time in an *ethopoiia*, cf. John Geometres who wrote (in elegiac distichs) Τίνας ἂν εἴποι λόγους ὁ ἐν ἀγίοις βασιλεὺς... Νικηφόρος ἀποτεμνομένων τῶν εἰκόνων αὐτοῦ, Migne, PG, 106, col. 932AB. Geometres, a contemporary of Nicephorus, was one of the best poets of the middle Byzantine period, and it stands to reason that Tzimisces' regime would see to it that the portraits of the murdered Nicephorus were removed.

of the Index to the *Barberinianus* 310 (*olim* 246) just quoted, were mere school exercises and date not earlier than the end of the tenth century or the time of Symeon the Younger (d. 1022). The two poems on Syracuse deplored an event of 878; it certainly made an impression on contemporaries of its period, but must have fallen into too deep an oblivion by the year 1000 to have been chosen as the subject for a student's performance.⁷⁴

As for Poem IV, I accept the accuracy of its title—which, as I have already argued, cannot be a *pseudepigraphon*—and assign it to Symeon the Magister of the tenth century. The final argument on behalf of the poem's early date comes from the body of its text. Had it been a later school exercise, it would have to have been executed by a very well-informed young man, as it mentions Basil II (line 40) born shortly before 959 but avoids mentioning Constantine VIII who was not born until 961. I attribute such precision to a contemporary's familiarity with births of members of the imperial family, rather than to the exact historical knowledge of a later writer, inspired by Scylitzes but careful to keep his chronology meticulously straight.

Several other poems in the *Scylitzes Matritensis* cannot possibly have been inspired by the chronicle itself. Our Poems II, 32–33 and III, 55–56 eulogize the Emperor Alexander. This attitude is contrary not only to that of Scylitzes, but also to that of the whole Byzantine chroniclers' tradition.⁷⁵ Poem VI can tentatively be ascribed to John Geometres who died about 990, almost a century before Scylitzes wrote. Finally, Poem XI on Bardas has been connected with Scylitzes' description of the death of Bardas Phocas, but this connection is demonstrably wrong. In sum, convergences between Poems I–IV and the text of Scylitzes are interesting corroborations, offered by earlier sources, of that chronicle's story, rather than the result of the dependence of these poems on the chronicle's text.

The second, and more serious, objection is to the dating "before 913" alone; it derives, first, from the observation that close similarities in vocabulary, motifs, style, and metrical structure exist between Poem IV—which, as has just been determined, dates from 959—and Poems I to III, respectively. ὦ πένθους πολυστενάκτου (IV, 11) has its counterparts in II, 22 and 25, ὦ πένθους, ὦ θρηνηδίας; the sweetness of Constantine VII (IV, 14 and 68) is anticipated by the "exceeding sweet" Leo VI (I, 15); the whole universe (IV, 17) or the

⁷⁴ All this against Nissen, "Die byzantinischen..." (as in note 26 *supra*), 72–73. For the two poems on the fall of Syracuse, cf. *Spicilegium Romanum*, 4 (1840), XXXIX.

⁷⁵ The latest author to examine the sources for evidence of the poor reputation of the Emperor Alexander is P. Karlin-Hayter, "The Emperor Alexander's Bad Name," *Speculum*, 44 (1969), 585–596. In the whole Alexander dossier, Mrs. Karlin-Hayter found two pieces which she considered not hostile to that Emperor: (a) *The Vision of Cosmas the Monk*, in *Synaxarium Eccl. Constantinopolitanae*, ed. H. Delehaye (in the Apparatus to November 5), (b) the song on Theophylactus, *inc.* Ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἀλέξανδρος, ed., e.g., H. Grégoire, Ὁ Διγενὴς Ἀκρίτας (n.d.), 213–214. However, (a) in his *Vision* of Paradise, Cosmas did not meet Alexander, only some of his courtiers; (b) as Mrs. Karlin-Hayter herself pointed out, the Emperor Alexander of the song—incidentally, a mere figurehead—stands for Basil I; and the choice of the substitute's name is to be attributed to an association with that of Alexander the Great, not to the song's friendliness toward Alexander, brother of Leo VI. Thus, it remains that our poems stand alone in the whole Byzantine tradition in displaying a positive, or at least a politely correct, attitude toward Alexander.

sun (I, 5) are sullen on account of the deaths of Constantine and Leo respectively; both emperors are φέγγος, "shining lights," either of the whole world (IV, 18) or of letters (III, 21); vanity of vanities is a motif filling either whole politic verses (IV, 31; II, 18) or at least the refrains (I, 4, 7, 16, 19, 22; III, 8, 75); people or stones "make tears flow" (ῥέω with the accusative: IV, 35 and I, 2); the deceased is no longer able to see or embrace his son or grandson—in both cases the survivors are "the light of" the deceased person's "eyesight" (II, 35; IV, 41); Leo VI is separated from his brother; Constantine, from all his relatives (II, 9; IV, 42); in an allusion to Psalm 102 (103):115, earthly things are twice compared to the grass that withers (IV, 47 and II, 15); and verses in different poems begin with υἱέ μου, "my son" (IV, 51 and II, 30). Every first eight-syllable half-verse of Poems I to IV has a proparoxytone ending; finally, the acrostic Poems III and IV contain inserted elements, in principle after each stanza of four acrostic couplets, i.e., after the letters Δ, Θ, Μ, Π, Υ, and Ω.

The hand of those who might object to the date "before 913" for Poems I to III is strengthened by the three epitaphs, two in politic verse, one in anacreontics, on Christopher, the eldest son of Romanus Lecapenus.⁷⁶ Christopher, crowned in 921, was groomed to succeed his father, but died in August of 931. After the elevation of Constantine VII in 944 Christopher's death would have made a poor subject for progymnasmatic exercises; he himself must have been pushed into obscurity as a minor member of the fallen usurper's clan. Thus, his three epitaphs surely date from before 944 and, almost as surely, from 931.

In the *Parisinus Suppl. Gr.* 690 the first epitaph is mutilated at the beginning, and, strictly speaking, each of them lacks its author's name. However, they are separated by only two blank folia, inserted at a recent date, from the already mentioned acrostic by "Symeon, magister and logothete of the Drome."⁷⁷ This acrostic precedes the epitaphs and is, in turn, mutilated at the end. The Symeon of the acrostic may, therefore, have been the author of the Christopher epitaphs as well. Sternbach and Krumbacher proposed this with caution;⁷⁸ had either of them known our poems, they would have done so with more confidence. For one thing, the Symeon of the acrostic is, as we already know, the same man as the Symeon of Poem IV;⁷⁹ for another, there are twenty-four textual and conceptual parallels, many of them very close, between Poems I to IV and the three Christopher epitaphs.⁸⁰

How should these various similarities be explained? Assigning all seven pieces to one author, Symeon Metaphrastes, would be the simplest solution, if it were not for chronology. The same man is unlikely to have sung the dirges

⁷⁶ Ed. Sternbach, "Christophorea" (as in commentary to Poem I, 2 *supra*), 15–19.

⁷⁷ Cf. p. 218 and note 56 *supra*.

⁷⁸ Sternbach: as in commentary to Poem I, 2 *supra*, 21; Krumbacher: *BZ*, 8 (1899), 553. Both scholars identified their putative author of the Christopher epitaphs with Metaphrastes.

⁷⁹ Cf. p. 218 *supra*.

⁸⁰ They have been recorded in the commentaries to Poem I, 2; 5–6; 8–9; Poem II, 21; 22 and 25; Poem III, 9–10; 13; 22–25; 30; 32; 43; 45; 58; 59; 65; 72; Poem IV, 4–5; 17; 22; 33; 42; 56 *supra*.

of crowned heads in 912, 931, 959, and if we add Symeon's iambic verses on Stephen,⁸¹ in 963. If, furthermore, this man was Symeon Metaphrastes, he must not only have been a precocious poet⁸² but have lived for over ninety years, as Metaphrastes is reported alive—or dying—in the eighties of the tenth century. If we want to assign all the seven pieces of politic verse, or at least Poems I to IV, to Metaphrastes, we should assume that at the time of Constantine Porphyrogenitus' death, Metaphrastes, or some member of his writing staff, was commissioned to compose a series of dirges on the two members of the Macedonian house, father and son, now sharing the same grave. This would mean dating Poems I to III, too, to late 959. But who, in 959, would be interested in mentioning the rise (III, 55: πορφύρας ἥλιος . . . ἀνίσχει) of the Emperor Alexander, and in saying a good word about him, as Poems II and III do? This creates quite a strong presumption for dating all the Poems on Leo VI to about 913, when Alexander was still in power. As for their similarities to Poem IV and to the Christopher epitaphs, these have to be accounted for by the identity of subject matter and of the stylistic canon, and by the requirements of the genre, which will not have changed much within a half-century. This is why I have opted for the date "shortly before 913"; but I must caution the reader that this dating has its weak points.

5

The political historian will read our four poems without excitement. Most of the nuggets he will find there are confirmations of what he has culled or inferred from other sources: Constantine VII went to the Bithynian Olympus shortly before his death; at that time he pretended—or was actually about—to prepare a campaign against the Arabs; he was buried together with Leo VI; Basil II was born before 959, Constantine VIII, after that year. As for the title of *stratiōtikos* assigned to Symeon Metaphrastes in the *Matritensis*, the administrative historian will take note of parallels between this title and the passages from Psellos and Symeon's correspondence, but might feel that the case has not been proven.

The literary historian will find the reading of our poems more rewarding. If he accepts the dates of about 913 and 959 for their composition and remembers that the politic epitaphs on Christopher can be dated with certainty to about 931, he will agree that by the beginning—or in any case, by the thirties—of the tenth century, the laws of the politic verse had been fully developed.⁸³

⁸¹ Cf. note 57 *supra*.

⁸² Markos Eugenikos reports—possibly on the basis of lost sources—that Symeon was born "in the times of" Leo VI, ed. Papadopoulos-Kerameus (as in note 60 *supra*), 100; even so, it is difficult to have him composing poems about 912, since, according to the same Eugenikos, Symeon lived beyond 976 to advise Basil II (*ibid.*, 101). Darrouzès encounters a similar difficulty when he has young Symeon Metaphrastes employed as secretary in Nicholas Mysticus' chancery (thus, before 925); cf. note 67 *supra*. However, we should think twice before multiplying our Symeons again.

⁸³ To repeat: every single first half-verse of Poems I to IV has a proparoxytone ending (—υυ); so do also the Christopher epitaphs of 931. This ending, however, occurs in only 58.43 per cent of the verses by the so-called Mangana poet (ca. 1150); cf. W. Hörandner, "Theodoros Prodromos und die Gedichtsammlung des Cod. Marc. XI 22," *Jahrbuch der Österreich. byzantinischen Gesellschaft*,

By that time, and certainly by the middle of the century, this verse was used on important court occasions and practiced also by at least one leading literary figure of the period. This shows that by the end of Constantine VII's reign, if not by that of Leo VI, the politic verse had reached the pinnacle of social acceptability.

This should not be a novel conclusion, since politic verses were written, or transmitted, by Constantine VII himself; and politic acrostics, attributed—rightly, as we now realize—to Symeon Metaphrastes, have been in print ever since Leo Allatius.⁸⁴ This conclusion should be stressed, however, since of late the appearance of politic verse in high literature and society has been connected with the name of a more recent writer, Symeon the Younger, the Theologian (949–1022).⁸⁵ It seems, however, that Symeon the Younger was not the first important Byzantine who wrote in politic verse; Constantine Porphyrogenitus used it in the first two lines of each strophe of his *exapostellaria*,⁸⁶ and the dependable R. J. F. Henrichsen is to be commended for having put Symeon Metaphrastes at the head of the list of reliably attested authors who composed politic verse in literary language.⁸⁷

The chronology of politic verse has not yet been established, at least in print.⁸⁸ This is not the place to do it, but merely to point out again that the use of this verse in literature is demonstrably—and appreciably—earlier than the year 1000.⁸⁹ Nicetas Stethatus' remark that Symeon the Younger had composed hymns ἐν ἀμέτρῳ μέτρῳ⁹⁰ is not an expression of astonishment at an

16 (1967), 99, and in 60 per cent of Symeon the Younger's verses (*ca.* 1000). Thus, about the same percentage of proparoxytone, i.e. "normal," endings occurs in the first half of verses by poets who lived 150 years apart and, worse yet, a much lower percentage than that occurring in verses which are from seventy to two hundred years earlier than either Symeon the Younger or Prodomos. It follows that caution should be exercised in the use of statistics (especially on the progressive proparoxytonization of first half-verse endings) for establishing the chronology of texts in political verse.

⁸⁴ Cf. note 56; for Sternbach's edition of epitaphs probably by Metaphrastes, see commentary to Poem I, 2 *supra*.

⁸⁵ So P. Maas, "Aus der Poesie des Mystikers Symeon," *Beiträge zur Geschichte des christlichen Allertums... Festgabe A. Ehrhard* (1922), 330; *idem*, *Greek Metre* (Oxford, 1962), 18; F. Dölger, *Die byzantinische Dichtung in der Reinsprache* (Berlin, 1948), 41 (= 2nd ed. [1961], 56–57); in the last place, J. Koder (as in note 26 *supra*), *Der Fünfzehnsilber*. In attributing the introduction of politic verse to Symeon the Younger, Maas and Dölger used qualifiers ("first important Byzantine," "into learned literature"). This was laudable caution. Maas, for one, must have been aware of the "customary," i.e. old and popular, Swallow Song in politic verses, quoted in Const. Porph., *De Cerim.*, I (Bonn), 366, 7–10 and 367, 17–21 (hence much older than Symeon the Younger), for he had himself published that song, cf. *BZ*, 21 (1912–13), 37 (on the Swallow Song, cf. also Handschin, "Das Zeremonienwerk..." [as in the commentary to Poem III, 2 *supra*], 14, 25, 65).

⁸⁶ Cf. W. Christ and M. Paranikas, *Anthologia...* (1871), 110–112.

⁸⁷ *Über die sogenannten politischen Verse bei den Griechen* (1839), 97–98, old but excellent.

⁸⁸ Cf. Hörandner, "Theodoros..." (as in note 83 *supra*), 98 note 38.

⁸⁹ J. B. Bury and S. Petrides reconstruct the dialogue which Theophilus and Kassia purportedly held at the time of the bride-show of 821—which cost Kassia the empress' crown—and cast it in politic verse. Welcome as I find any evidence for an early appearance of this verse, I must suspend judgment here. Even if we accept the very idea of reconstruction (the actual one by Bury has to be modified) and assume, with the two scholars, the authenticity of the dialogue, we do not know how to date our testimony. It should be dated, I think, not to the year 821, when the bride-show took place, but to the time of the "Logothete" chronicles in which it is described, and this brings us to the tenth century again. For the dialogue and bibliography on it, cf., in the last place, I. Rochow, *Studien zu der Person, den Werken und dem Nachleben der Dichterin Kassia* (1967), 5–19, esp. 208 note 74.

⁹⁰ Βίος... Συμεών... chap. 37, 12, ed. I. Hausherr, *Orientalia Christiana*, 12 (1928), 50.

unprecedented feat, but, as the usage of Maximus Planudes shows,⁹¹ simply a statement that Symeon had composed verses based on stress (τόνος) rather than on antique prosody (μέτρον); in short, that he wrote politic verse. This verse is mediaeval, and when Planudes and his modern-day followers traced politic verses back to Euripides, Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Artistophanes,⁹² they were aware that the ancients did obey the rules of antique prosody (μέτρον) and that the lines quoted from them only *happen* to be susceptible of “politic” scanning as well. However, there is no proof that politic verse, mediaeval as it is, came into being only as late as the tenth century; thus, it was not sound method to deny a politic acrostic to Leo VI on the ground that this kind of verse was not in general use until later.⁹³ Any new study of politic verse must first re-examine, rather than pass over in silence, the belief that this verse has popular roots, that it may have originated in Asia Minor, and that it goes back to the early centuries of Byzantium.⁹⁴

The cultural historian might derive the most satisfaction from our poems, for he does not measure the value of a text by the amount of factual information to be extracted from it. He will reflect that at roughly the same time when Symeon—or his secretary—was grinding out his obituary on Constantine Porphyrogenitus in politic verse, a high style poet like John Geometres was deploring the deaths and, in part, the deeds of a Nicephorus Phocas or a John Tzimiskes in iambics, or in elegiac distichs; these he studded with epic forms and precious names such as Assyrians and Phoenicians, instead of simply Saracens.⁹⁵ Again, there is nothing new about the co-existence of lowly and recherché genres in Byzantine letters. However, Symeon’s name reminds us that this co-existence was obtained at the height of the so-called Macedonian renaissance and in the highest strata of Byzantine literary society. What is more, the dirges in politic verse were meant for actual singing performance—the indication “second plagal mode” in the title of Poem III assures that—perhaps by two choirs, one of them singing the acrostic lines, the other the refrains and the inserted verses; the sophistication of John Geometres’ elegiac distichs was meant—at best—for reading only: either from parchment or, in some cases, from stone. At the imperial palace, even under Constantine Porphyrogenitus, the live forms of secular artistic expression were the same as those used by the uneducated people of the same time—and

⁹¹ Περὶ γραμματικῆς διάλογος, ed. L. Bachmann, *Anecdota Graeca*, II (Leipzig, 1828), 98, 25–28: πολιτικούς... στίχους ποιοῦσι, μέτρον μὲν ἄπαν ἐν τοῖσδε λῆρον ἡγούμενοι, τόνους δὲ δύο περίπου τὰ μέσα καὶ τὸ τέλος τηροῦντες; 99, 10–13: τοῖς εἰς τὸ πολιτικόν... μεταναστᾶσιν ὄνομα στίχοις καὶ Τραγικοί πάντες... χρησάμενοι φαίνονται, οὐκ ἀμέτρως μέντοι, ἀλλ’ οἱ μὲν τροχαίοι ποιήσαντες...; cf. 100, 10–13, for the opposition μέτρον-τόνος.

⁹² Cf. Bachmann, *ibid.*, 99, 10–100, 3; and, e.g., J. Mavrogordato, *Digenes Akrites* (Oxford, 1956), p. XXII note 2.

⁹³ This was done by Krumbacher, cf. D. N. Anastasiewicz, “Alphabete,” *BZ*, 16 (1907), 489. Admittedly, there was another reason (divided manuscript tradition) for doubting the authorship of Leo VI in this particular case.

⁹⁴ Cf. St. P. Kyriakides, “Ἡ γένεσις τοῦ διστίχου καὶ ἡ ἀρχὴ τῆς ἰσομετρίας,” in *Λαογραφία*, Παράφρ. 4 (1947), 6; S. Baud-Bovy, “Sur la strophe de la chanson ‘cleftique,’” *Annuaire de l’Inst. de philologie et d’histoire orientales et slaves*, 10 (1950) 57–58; *idem*, *La chanson populaire grecque du Dodécanèse*, I (1936), 39.

⁹⁵ Cf. Migne, PG, 106, cols. 901C–905B; 920AB; 927A; 932AB; 941B.

as those which have survived in Rhomaic folklore down to modern days.⁹⁶ It is by studying such phenomena, rather than by seeking links to Periclean Athens, that we can most profitably reveal the creation of modern Greek culture.

⁹⁶ In "Εἰς Συμεῶνα..." (as in note 49 *supra*), 137, Professor Tomadakis arrives at a different conclusion. He finds that Symeon, who "characteristically" wrote in iambics, was guided by Photius' and Arethas' Atticism, which was hostile to popular tradition. In response to this I can only refer to Symeon's politic verses and surmise that if an authentic Atticist, such as Aelius Aristides, were able to read them, he would have exclaimed ὦ θλίψεως ἀφορήτου (Poem IV, 66).

Addenda 1970: *Ad* p. 187 note 1: G. Matthiae reviewed the edition of *Scylitzes Matritensis* by S. Cirac Estopañán in *BZ*, 63 (1970), 126–28. I happily report the reviewer's opinion on the manuscript's milieu (p. 128): the first illuminator of the *Matritensis* translated the style of his Byzantine model into an artistic milieu akin to that used in the manuscript of Peter of Eboli.

Ad p. 188 note 7: cf. J. Irigoin, "L'Italie méridionale et la tradition des textes antiques," *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik*, 18 (1969), 37–55, esp. 54–5, on Greek manuscripts coming from the spoils of Manfred which Charles of Anjou gave to the Pope after the battle of Benevento.

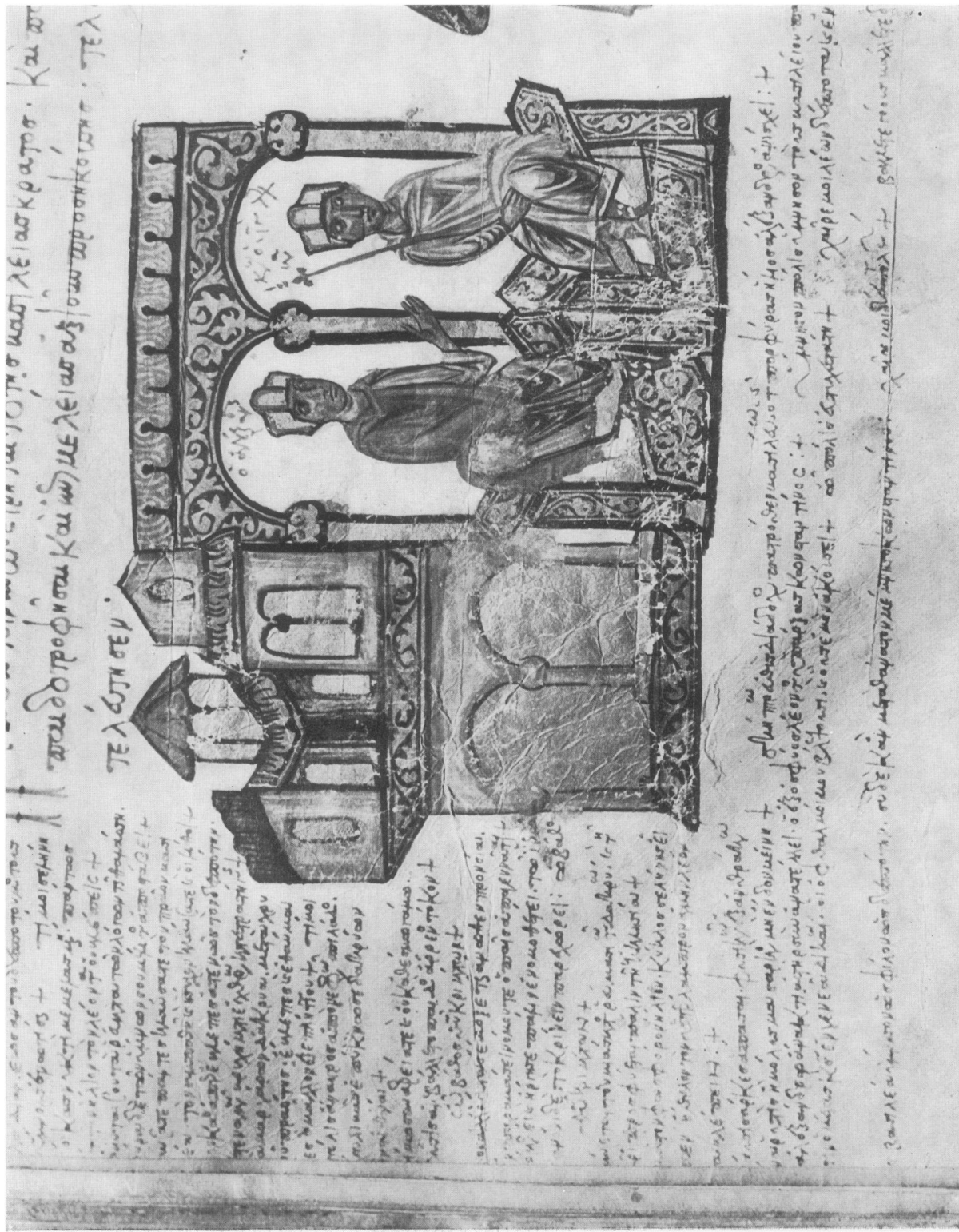
Ad p. 192 and note 19: On various Bardae, cf. P. Charanis, "On the Ethnic Origins of the Emperor Nicephorus Phocas," *Εἰς μνήμην Κ. Ἀμάτου (1874–1960)* (Athens, 1960), 42–45 (earlier bibliography). I could not identify the Bardas Phocas, son of Nicephorus Phocas "the Stiffnecked" (d. 1022), referred to by Professor Charanis on p. 44, unless he is the same as Patricius Bardas "the descendant" of Bardas the Magister, i.e., Bardas Phocas, mentioned in Cedrenus, *Hist.*, II (Bonn), 482, 17–18 and considered, on insufficient grounds, to have been son of Nicephorus Phocas "the Stiffnecked."

Ad p. 199 note 26 and p. 226 note 85: Dr. Koder's edition of Symeon has appeared in the meantime: J. Koder and J. Paramelle, *Syméon le Nouveau Theologien, Hymnes 1–15* [= Sources Chrétien-nes, 156] (1969); cf. pp. 82–94 for analysis of Symeon's versification.

Articles by R. J. H. Jenkins here quoted (cf. pp. 195, 200 note 33, 208[3], 217 note 50) have now been conveniently reprinted in *Studies on Byzantine History of the Ninth and Tenth Centuries* (1970).



4. Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, Vitr. 26-2, fol. 116v, detail: Part of Poem III on Leo VI's Death



5. Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, Vitr. 26-2, fol. 116v, detail: Part of Poem III on Leo VI's Death



6. Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, Vitr. 26-2, fol. 116^v, detail: Concluding Part of Poem III on Leo VI's Death



7. Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, Vitr. 26-2, fol. 139r, detail: Emperor Constantine VII on His Deathbed



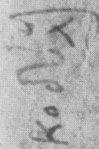
9. Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, Vitr. 26-2, fol. 139r, detail: Part of Poem IV on Constantine VII's Death



10. Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, Vitr. 26-2, fol. 139r, detail: Concluding Part of Poem IV on Constantine VII's Death



11. Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, Vitr. 26-2, fol. 157r, detail: Poem V on Theophano



Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, Vitr. 26-2



13. Fol. 182^v, detail: Poem XI on Bardas